

A Publication
of the North
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Fall 2023
Number 21

Tributaries

Letter from the Board

Letter from the Editor

Defending the Sounds: North Carolina's Confederate Coast and the
Steamers *CSS Winslow* and *CSS Sea Bird*

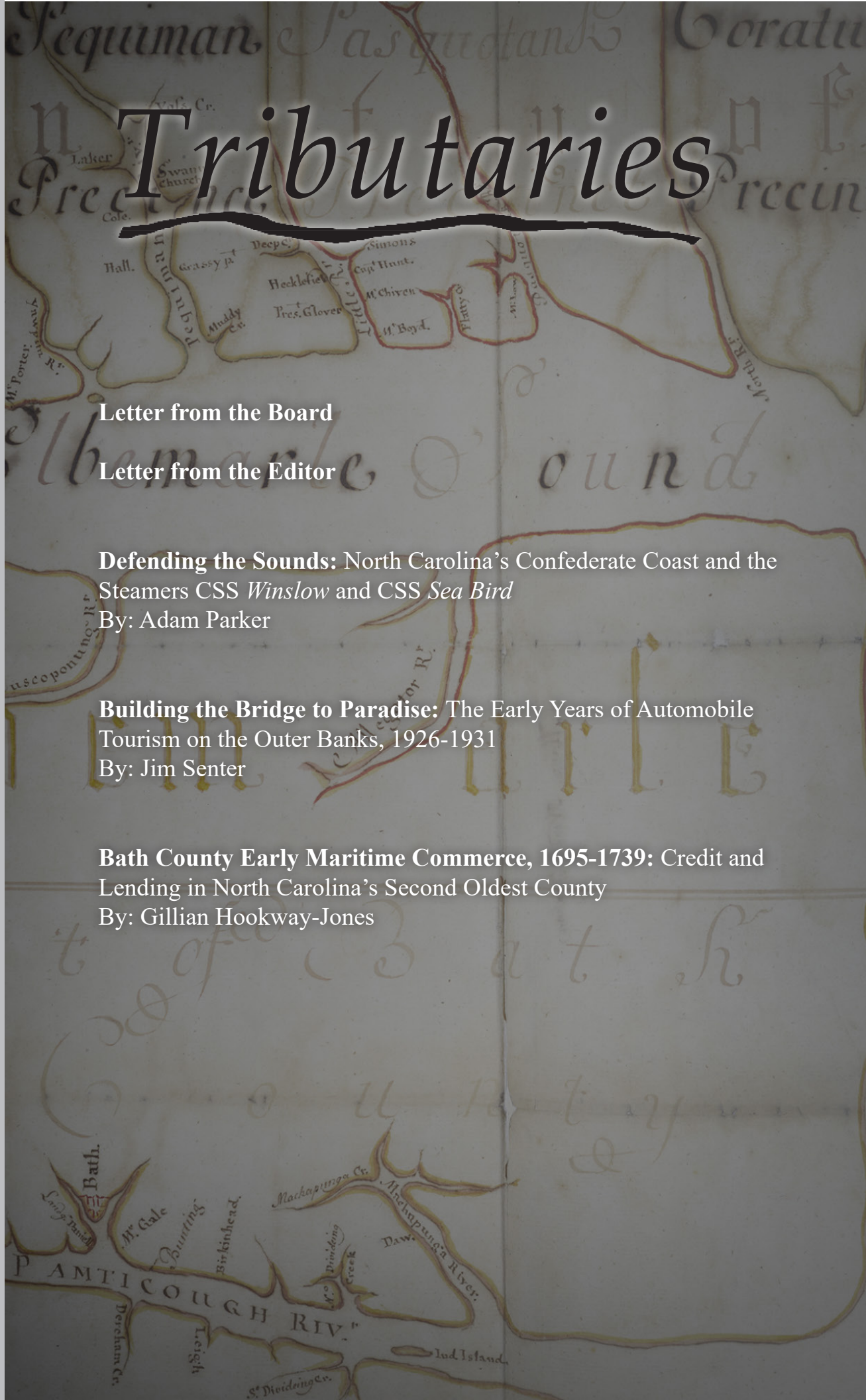
By: Adam Parker

Building the Bridge to Paradise: The Early Years of Automobile
Tourism on the Outer Banks, 1926-1931

By: Jim Senter

Bath County Early Maritime Commerce, 1695-1739: Credit and
Lending in North Carolina's Second Oldest County

By: Gillian Hookway-Jones





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Tributaries

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Letter from the Board

What is North Carolina's maritime history?

The maritime landscape of North Carolina is truly remarkable. Throughout prehistory, native inhabitants utilized dugout canoes to maintain lines of communication, trade, and relied on the marine environment in daily life. Ships of exploration and colonial craft of every description plied coastal, sound, and riverine waters. Vessels of piracy, warfare, and commerce led to legendary shipwrecks, heroic rescues, and enduring maritime mysteries. Maritime industries flourished adjacent to and within the resource-rich waters of the Tar Heel State. All this combines to form an incredibly profound maritime heritage, one which is only now beginning to be understood in its broadest context.

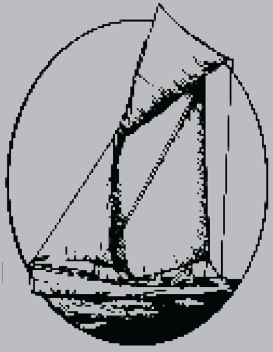
The North Carolina Maritime History Council came together in 1988 when a group of individuals involved in the maritime history field began meeting informally to share information and to discuss issues of mutual concern. In 1990 the North Carolina Maritime History Council was incorporated with the mission to identify and encourage historical and educational projects that have as their purpose the enhancement and preservation of the state's maritime history and culture, and that create public awareness of that heritage.

Council membership is open to any individuals and institutions interested in the maritime history of our region. We encourage this membership to seek ways to pool resources, share information, and discuss issues to benefit the dissemination of our mutual maritime heritage. It is our hope that you will continue to support the Council as we encourage and learn from more diverse scholarship in our field. No story is too small, no voice left unheard. Learn more about us on our website: www.ncmaritimehistory.com. Please consider renewing your membership or otherwise contributing to our mission.

Sincerely,
The Executive Board of the North Carolina Maritime History Council

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Letter from the Editor

Tributaries is a product of the North Carolina Maritime History Council. Produced since the Council's incorporation in 1990, *Tributaries* is the only history journal published in the state fully dedicated to North Carolina-based maritime historical and archaeological topics. As stated in the Council's mission, we seek to enhance understanding and promote our state's maritime history, and *Tributaries* is a major component towards that purpose.

North Carolina's maritime history is not limited to the well-known stories and sites that attract the attention of the public and researchers. It is my hope to utilize *Tributaries* as a repository for a wide range of histories related to specific ships, shipwrecks, maritime sites, people, events, and industries that might help inform broader research themes in our state. If you are conducting research on a site or artifact associated with past maritime activity in North Carolina, I encourage you to submit any historical research to the journal. All members of the maritime history community, including independent researchers, local history groups, genealogical societies, oral historians, students, academics, and federal, state, or municipal governments are encouraged to submit articles to the journal. If you are a student who wrote a term paper on a shipwreck site or maritime historical topic, consider submitting it to the journal. A lot of important research isn't shared, and we are hoping to change that.

This issue of *Tributaries* highlights some of these interesting histories within our state. The first article discusses Confederate naval defense strategies in North Carolina through the analysis of two civilian ships that were converted for wartime purposes. Through the careers of these two vessels, the author masterfully weaves together analysis military defensive strategies with the detailed historical research of specific watercraft used in the conflict. The next article discusses the development of early 20th century tourism in the Outer Banks through the story of building the Old Currituck Bridge. The story helps to explain, through a detailed narrative, how and why the Outer Banks as we know it exists today. Last, the final paper goes further back in time to re-visit the notoriously elusive topic of colonial North Carolina credit practices. The author provides an accounting of the economic historical topic in such a way that successfully contributes and consolidates new historical information on the use of credit in Bath County. Happy reading!

Yours in continual learning,
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Defending the Sounds:

North Carolina's Confederate Coast and the Steamers CSS *Winslow* and CSS *Sea Bird*

by Adam Parker

Abstract

Naval histories of the American Civil War often describe the Confederate naval response to the Union blockade and the South's ability to repel Union naval operations a foregone defeat. While any southern state with a coastline was a target for amphibious assault, eastern North Carolina's vast navigable river networks and proximity to the Gosport Naval Yard in Norfolk, Virginia made it an especially high value target early in the war. Thus, Confederate officers actively planned defenses by purchasing vessels for conversion to gunboats in addition to establishing onshore fortifications. Purchased from civilian service at the beginning of the war, the steamers CSS *Winslow* and CSS *Sea Bird* demonstrate North Carolina's proactive planning through their varied uses throughout the first year of hostilities. Examining these two vessels, their civilian careers before the war, their roles during hostilities, and the network of coastal fortifications demonstrates the varied defensive strategy employed in an effort to deter Union pushes into the sounds of eastern North Carolina.

Introduction

Following the opening salvos of the American Civil War at Fort Sumter in April 1861, President Abraham Lincoln issued a blockade of all southern ports under rebellion. Eight days later, he extended the blockade to include the coasts of North Carolina and Virginia, before either state had officially seceded or joined the Confederacy.¹ The blockade, and the number of ships required to enforce it, initiated a large-scale mobilization in northern ports and shipyards. Conversely, in southern ports, Confederate Secretary of Navy

Stephen Mallory initiated similar programs for naval mobilization and purpose-built ship construction, specifically for the defense of ports.² Additionally, Confederate military officers and laborers began improving shore batteries and fortifications. Union landings at Hatteras Inlet and Roanoke Island in September 1861 and February 1862, respectively, brought the war to North Carolina, well before any of the purpose-built naval vessels were completed and while Confederate forces were still establishing earthworks.³

While the Battles of Hatteras Inlet and Roanoke Island were ultimately Union victories, they demonstrate the varied approach North Carolina officials took at the beginning of the war when considering defensive measures. Eastern North Carolina is tied intricately with numerous rivers that feed Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, with river ports dotting the eastern coastline and Outer Banks. However, the waterways are often shallow, and sands constantly shift, closing and opening new inlets regularly in the Outer Banks.⁴ North Carolina officials recognized the need for a standing fleet in addition to shore fortifications while purpose-built vessels were constructed. To this end, North Carolina officials were the most active in establishing their state's naval capabilities, even before formal admission into the Confederate States. Through these efforts, North Carolina had one of the most robust and varied defensive strategies.

Conventional naval wisdom placed faith in fortifications. That faith in fortifications and shore batteries was not misplaced. Steam power had only begun to become a significant factor in naval combat. Before this, sailing ships were reliant on, and at the mercy of, the wind to bring

their heavy guns to bear whereas a shore gun could always be ready. It was said that a single coastal fort gun was worth four guns aboard a ship.⁵ Well-trained Confederate gun crews sunk two steamers and forced the Union fleet to retire at the Second Battle of Sabine Pass (Texas, September 1863).⁶ Fort Fisher in Wilmington, North Carolina defied Union blockaders until the closing days of the war, withstanding 1.6 million pounds of iron projectiles, two land assaults, hand-to-hand fighting, and a fire ship.⁷

This is not to suggest that other states did not attempt to establish a naval presence. At the beginning of the war, several United States Revenue Service cutters were seized in addition to Federal fortifications. Being sailing vessels, the cutters were relegated to service as receiving ships or as dispatch vessels, hardly serviceable for combat to defend ports.⁸ At the Battle of Port Royal (South Carolina, November 1861) the Confederate fleet of four steamers could not mount a counteroffensive against the Union fleet, only offering minor harassment.⁹ At the Battle of Forts Jackson and St. Phillip (Louisiana, April 1862), Confederate forces requisitioned six steamers with their civilian crews, but were quickly overrun by Captain Farragut's fleet.¹⁰ When the Confederate Navy took control of State naval assets, there was little to count: South Carolina mobilized a seized revenue cutter, three steamers, and a few fishing vessels, Virginia requisitioned three steamers, Florida had one schooner, and Alabama had a seized revenue cutter and tug.¹¹ When compared to the other Confederate states, North Carolina's fleet was strong in numbers and manned by naval crews, adding a significant mobile force to the shore batteries protecting the state's sounds and rivers. Furthermore, the steamers North Carolina requisitioned for early war mobilization were not used simply in defensive roles; they were used as offensive forces as well.

This paper mirrors Olson's history of CSS *Curlew* and Parker's history of USS *Ceres*.¹² In doing so, the story of North Carolina's mobilization of a naval force is demonstrated by following two steamers, CSS *Winslow* (named *J.E. Coffee* before the war) and CSS *Sea Bird*. Both vessels had extensive civilian careers that demonstrate characteristics sought by Confederate officials, such as speed, shallow drafts able to traverse eastern North Carolina's sounds without grounding, sturdiness to mount heavy artillery, and overall reputation as dependable steamers. Following the civilian careers of both steamers demonstrates why they were critical assets as North Carolina attempted to assemble a naval force to defend its waterways, in addition to numerous shore batteries.

The Confederate Strategy in North Carolina

Like all other Confederate states, North Carolina immediately began strengthening existing fortifications and building new ones. Shortly after secession, Confederate forces seized Forts Macon, Caswell, and Johnston. Furthermore, funds were immediately allocated for the construction of several fortifications and batteries throughout coastal North Carolina. These included Forts Hatteras and Clark at Cape Hatteras, Forts Huger, Bartow, and Blanchard on Roanoke Island, Fort Fisher in Wilmington, and numerous smaller batteries throughout the state to defend the entrances to rivers and river ports, such as Fort Cobb in Elizabeth City.¹³

Strategically, the Albemarle Sound region had two major canals linking it to Norfolk, Virginia, and the Gosport Naval Yard: The Dismal Swamp and Albemarle and Chesapeake Canals. Gosport Naval Yard was a valuable early source of heavy artillery after it was seized a week following Virginia's secession.¹⁴ Several rivers fed Albemarle Sound, including the Roanoke, Scuppernong, Alligator, Chowan, Perquimans, Little, Pasquotank, and North Rivers along with major river ports including Elizabeth City, Edenton, and Plymouth. The Albemarle Region was fertile river country, and the entire region was linked through this extensive network of river routes.¹⁵ In Pamlico Sound, New Bern and Washington were significant river ports on the Neuse and Tar-Pamlico Rivers. North Carolina officials were aware that control of the sounds also meant control of a large portion of the state. As the anticipation of war grew, North Carolina prepared to mobilize a naval force as agents began inspecting steamers in the Albemarle region.

The ships that made up that naval force would need to be vetted against the environment. North Carolina's sounds are relatively shallow, only reaching depths of 25 feet at the deepest. Constantly shifting sands along the Outer Banks at Oregon, Hatteras, and Ocracoke Inlets further pressed the need for ships with shallow drafts. Deep-drafted Union warships would not be able to enter the sounds, but it was well known that Union Secretary of Navy Gideon Welles was mobilizing shallow-drafted harbor ferries and tugs for war. While Mallory set about building purpose-built combat vessels, North Carolina looked to the river sidewheelers and canal steamers to protect itself. North Carolina Governor John W. Ellis sent naval agent Marshall Parks to begin inspecting steamers in Norfolk and determine their suitability for purchase.¹⁶

Flag-Officer William Lynch was given command of naval forces in eastern North Carolina and Virginia. Not all believed in the necessity of a combat-ready fleet, placing all their faith in shore batteries. General Henry Wise would remark, "...He [Flag-Officer Lynch] gave too much consequence entirely to his fleet of gunboats, which hindered transportation of piles, lumber, forager, supplies of all kinds, and of troops, by taking away the steam tugs and converting them to perfectly imbecile gunboats."¹⁷ Nonetheless, when Governor Ellis refused President Lincoln's call for North Carolinian troops to forcibly quell the rebellion, North Carolina seceded from the Union, and began purchasing vessels based on Parks' inspections and recommendations.¹⁸

In total, nine steamers would make up North Carolina's defensive fleet: CSS *Winslow*, CSS *Sea Bird*, CSS *Forrest*, CSS *Curlew*, CSS *Ellis*, CSS *Raleigh*, CSS *Beaufort*, CSS *Fanny*, and CSS *Junalaska*.¹⁹ They were supported briefly in early 1862 by a schooner, CSS *Black Warrior*. All performed various duties during the war, however CSS *Winslow* and CSS *Sea Bird* provide a view at the overarching roles the North Carolina fleet filled. *Winslow*, formerly *J.E. Coffee*, operated primarily as a privateer in the opening months of the war. Lynch used *Sea Bird* as his flagship, and it was present for traditional combat roles at the Battles of Roanoke Island and Elizabeth City. Both were well known throughout Norfolk and the Albemarle region before the war during their civilian service careers and typified the vessels North Carolina officials sought during the mobilization of their defensive fleet.

The Privateer: CSS *Winslow*

J.E. Coffee, later *Winslow*, was a sidewheel steamer, launched in 1846 from Benjamin Terry's first shipyard located in New York City (prior to his more well-known shipyard in Keyport, New Jersey). Advertisements for its sale detail that it was 143 feet long, 208 tons, and constructed of oak, cedar, heart pine, and locust.²⁰ Terry originally built *J.E. Coffee* for Mr. George Wayne Coffee and named the steamer after a New York steam engine builder, Joseph E. Coffee. George and Joseph Coffee were brothers and operated the West Street Foundry in Brooklyn, and they had a long-standing relationship with Terry. Presumably, they built the engines for *J.E. Coffee*. George Coffee more than likely had the vessel built with the explicit intention of reselling it. Within a few days of the vessel's enrollment under his name in New York City, he sold it to Isaac Newton in July 1846. Newton was associated with the Peoples Line, which operated ferry routes on the Hudson River; however, instead of operating routes

along the Hudson, Newton had the steamer run routes between Whitestone, New York City to Coney Island, with a stop at Fort Hamilton.²¹

In February 1847, the steamer was sold back to George Coffee who then immediately sold it to Captain Joel Stone in New Haven, Connecticut.²² Stone was attempting to establish his own passenger service after building his reputation on a route between New London and New Haven, Connecticut with the New York Line Company. His new route with *J.E. Coffee* would be between Bridgeport and Norwich, Connecticut. The new route was advertised as a great convenience to the public, and the first advertisement for the route stated *J.E. Coffee* will make the run three times weekly.²³

J.E. Coffee only ran the route for two months under Captain Stone. On 11 June, Captain Almon Bacon took over the route with the steamer. Further details of the route are described as, "Leaving Bridgeport three times a week on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday mornings at half past 7 o'clock for New Haven and [leaving] New Haven at half past 11 o'clock for Norwich, landing at Sachem's Head, Madison, Saybrook, and New London..."²⁴ Bacon's command of *J.E. Coffee* was short-lived; 11 days after the announcement of Bacon's promotion to command, the steamer was taken off the route, and it was discontinued.²⁵

On 22 June, the day it was announced Captain Bacon's route was discontinued, Stone had sold *J.E. Coffee* to the investors who would later establish the Keyport and Middletown Point Steamboat Company in 1852. Captain James T. Weeks brought *J.E. Coffee* to New York for the transfer of ownership, and it was then enrolled on 24 June under DeLafayette Schenck and Henry H. Seabrook at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. They immediately replaced the steamer *Telegraph* with *J.E. Coffee* and placed it on a ferry route between Middletown Point in Keyport, New Jersey, and New York City under Captain Thomas Arrowsmith. *J.E. Coffee* only serviced the route for a year before the vessel was sold to new owners in Norfolk, Virginia in 1848.²⁶

After making its way to Norfolk, the new owners placed *J.E. Coffee* on a regular route between Norfolk and Virginia's Eastern Shore. The Eastern Shore is the southern end of the Delmarva Peninsula and is separated from the rest of Virginia by Chesapeake Bay. Ferry services had been established in the 17th century, but with the advent of steam vessels, ferry lines began establishing regularly scheduled routes. *J.E. Coffee* replaced the steamer *Osiris* on a large route.²⁷ On Mondays, the vessel made its way from Wright's Wharf

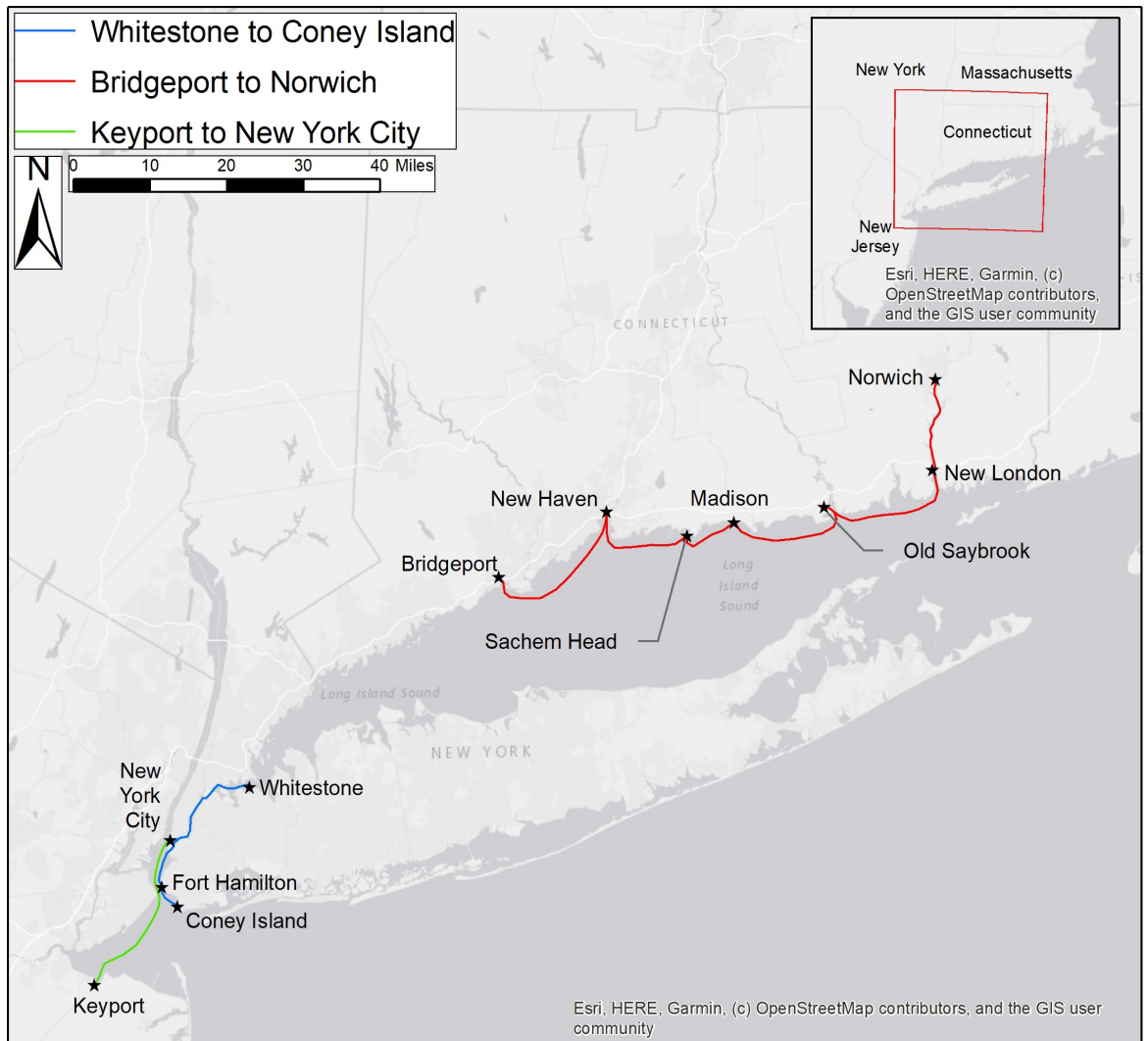


Figure 1. Reconstructed J.E. Coffee Ferry Routes in the Northeastern U.S. (map created by author).

in Norfolk at 8:00 AM and made stops at Portsmouth, Hampton, and Old Point Comfort before steaming for the Eastern Shore and then returning in the afternoon. On Tuesdays, the route went from Norfolk to Cherrystone and back. Finally, Friday's route mirrored Monday's, with an additional stop in Cherrystone.²⁸

J.E. Coffee continued this route until April of 1853.²⁹ After being bought and sold several times in quick succession in New York and New Jersey, the steamer was only sold once during this five-year period. In March 1852, *J.E. Coffee* was advertised for sale. Included in the sale were the vessel's "valuable mail contracts for service between Hampton, Old Point [Comfort], and Eastern Shore, Virginia till July 1855 [the end of the mail contracts], including- wharves, leases, privileges..."³⁰ It had recently undergone an overhaul and was in "complete order for the summer travel" and "first rate condition."³¹

In April 1853, the steamer *William Selden* replaced *J.E. Coffee* on the route. It is unclear what *J.E. Coffee* did after; however, in April 1856, it replaced *William Selden* on an altered route.³² On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, *J.E. Coffee's* route departed Norfolk at 7:00 AM and made stops at Portsmouth, Hampton, and

Old Point Comfort before steaming for the Eastern Shore. On Tuesdays and Saturdays, the route left Norfolk for Mathews County to the north, located between the mouths of the York and Rappahannock Rivers.³³ It remained on this route until the spring of 1860, excepting a period between 2 to 29 May 1859, when *Coffee* replaced *Sea Bird* on a route in the York and Pamunkey Rivers.³⁴

In August 1860, the mammoth steamer *Great Eastern* appeared in Hampton Roads. *Great Eastern* was an engineering marvel of the time, the largest steamer ever built, with the ability to sail from England to Australia without need for taking on more coal. Naturally, the wonder of seeing the large iron-hulled sidewheeler with its five funnels, attracted a great number of onlookers when it put into Norfolk. *J.E. Coffee*, along with *Thomas Heaney*, took passengers from Old Point Comfort to greet the incoming *Great Eastern*. Local newspapers marveled at *Great Eastern's* speed, sailing at 16 knots, stating that "...*Coffee*, although a very swift boat, was a considerable distance behind..."³⁵

On 1 May 1861, *J.E. Coffee* was sailing in consort with *Adelaide*. The Union blockade had already started off Hampton Roads and the two vessels

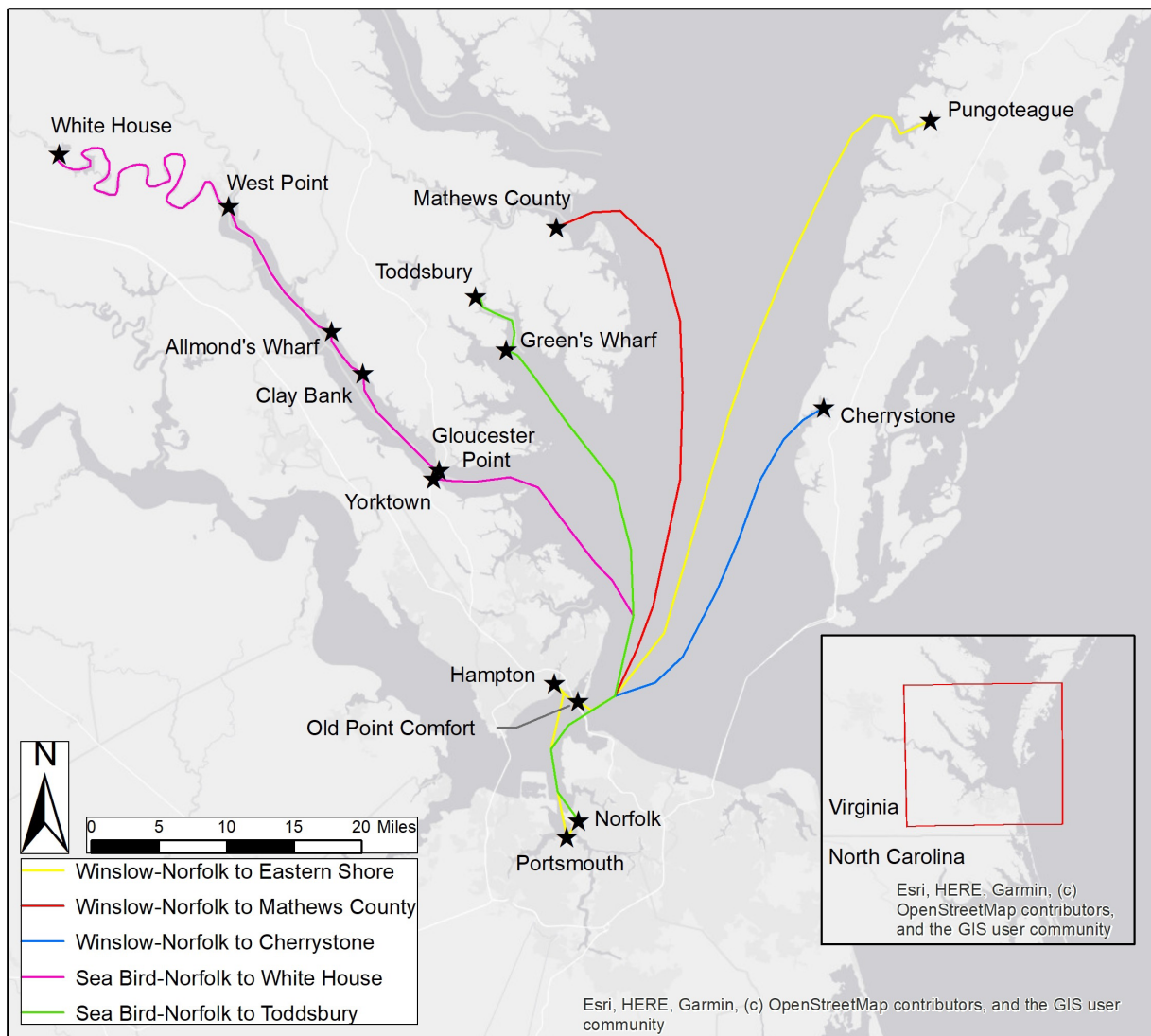


Figure 2. Reconstructed J.E. Coffee and Sea Bird Ferry Routes in Southeastern Virginia (map created by author).

were detained and boarded by USS *Cumberland* and USS *Yankee*. *Adelaide* was allowed to continue to its destination of Baltimore, but *J.E. Coffee*, under command of Master Patrick McCarrick, was instructed to return to Norfolk and warned the blockade was in effect off the Virginia coast.³⁶

Following the incident with USS *Cumberland* and USS *Yankee*, the State of North Carolina nearly immediately purchased *J.E. Coffee* for service. In the first weeks of May, North Carolina had officially seceded from the Union, but had not yet joined the Confederacy. In preparation for hostilities, Governor Ellis had naval agents begin inspecting vessels for purchase. On 9 May, agent Marshall Parks wrote a communication to Ellis describing the vessels available at Norfolk. *J.E. Coffee* was not among those vessels mentioned.³⁷ It is known that *J.E. Coffee* did see service during the war, and that it was at Norfolk in early May 1861. It is assumed that Parks negotiated the sale of *J.E. Coffee* sometime between 1 and 9 May 1861.

After the State of North Carolina purchased the steamer, the name was changed to *Warren Winslow*, or simply *Winslow*. Following

commission, it was fitted out with a 32-pounder Dahlgren gun on a pivot carriage and a 6-pounder rifled howitzer.³⁸ Lieutenant Thomas M. Crossan was placed in command, although Master McCarrick remained attached to the vessel, likely due to his familiarity with it before the war.³⁹

Following its naval outfitting, Crossan took *Winslow* to Hatteras Inlet where it began operating as a state-funded privateer. At the end of May, *Winslow* started securing prizes. Scharf gives the following list of prizes captured by *Winslow* during the summer of 1861:

...Among them the brig *Hannah Butty* with molasses; the bark *Lenwood* [sic; *Linwood*], with 6,000 bags of coffee; the schooner *Lydia French*; the brig *Gilvery* [sic; *William McGilvery*], with 315 tierces of molasses; three unknown brigs; the schooner *Gordon*, with fruit; the schooner *Priscilla*, with 600 bushels of salt; a brig and three schooners; the brig *Itasca*, with 500 hogsheads of molasses; and

the schooner *Henry Nutt*, with mahogany and logwood.⁴⁰

Treadwell also gives the same list; however, they both appear to be working with data compiled following the war in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (ORN). This presents a large issue as sources do not state the vessel which captured them.⁴¹ Other evidence from *William McGilvery*, *Henry Nutt*, and *Nathaniel Chase* in the ORN demonstrates that other privateers took these vessels.⁴² It is obvious that the beginning months of the war were rife with conflicting information, miscommunications, and confusion regarding the privateers off Hatteras.

Winslow was one of several privateers working out of Hatteras and Ocracoke in the fifteen weeks between North Carolina's secession and official entry into the Confederacy. Other privateers included the steamer *Gordon*, formerly of the Charleston-Fernandina Line and armed with three guns; the screw propeller steamer *Mariner*, armed with two 12-pounder smoothbores and a 6-pounder rifle; the former pilot boat *York*, mounting one 8-pounder; and the screw propeller steamer *Beaufort*, also purchased by the State of North Carolina.⁴³ Of interest, neither *Winslow* nor *Beaufort* are listed as known commissioned privateers in a list presented in the ORN.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, the Hatteras privateers quickly became a major concern for Union shipping interests, with marine insurance agents reporting on 9 August 1861 that the privateer movements were of utmost importance. In a letter to Welles, northern merchants stated the loss of the schooner *B.T. Martin* amounted to \$60,000, and after being taken prisoner aboard the privateer *York*, the schooner's crew only encountered one Union vessel on patrol, USS *Union*. *Union* forced *York*'s captain to beach the vessel and burn it. *B.T. Martin*'s captain reported that at least eighteen privateers were in operation in southern waters, three out of Hatteras.⁴⁵

Examining the prizes taken by *Winslow* shows significantly more impact on Union shipping than *York*'s capture of *B.T. Martin*. During the last week of May 1861, *Winslow* took its first prize, the brig *Lydia Frances* [French] of Bridgeport, Connecticut with a load of sugar from Cuba to New York. The same week *Winslow* captured the bark *Linwood* [Lenwood] with a cargo of coffee from Rio de Janeiro to New York. The following week, *Winslow* took the schooner *Willet S. Robbins*.⁴⁶

Two weeks passed with no activity until 25 June when *Winslow* took another two prizes. On 25

June, the steamer overhauled the brig *Hannah Butty* with a cargo of molasses, bound from Savannah, Georgia to an unknown northern port. At the same time, the schooner *Gordon* (not to be confused with the privateer steamer *Gordon*) was taken along with its cargo of fruit while enroute to Philadelphia.⁴⁷ It is interesting that Scharf separates these prizes from others taken by *Winslow* discussed earlier in his narrative of privateers in the Confederacy. Specifically, he mentions *Hannah Butty* as having been taken by the steamer *Coffee*. The confusion over *J.E. Coffee*'s name change to *Winslow* seems to add even more confusion to the issue of the Hatteras privateers. On 13 August, *Winslow* was named in northern papers as a privateer operating off Hatteras Inlet. In the same article, *J.E. Coffee* is also named as a privateer, indicating that northern interests were unaware that they were the same vessel.⁴⁸ Union commanders stationed off Hatteras referred to the steamer by both *Winslow* and *J.E. Coffee*, stating that the vessel would sail out of Hatteras before daybreak and return at night.⁴⁹

Five days later, on 30 June, *Winslow* captured the 193-ton schooner *Transit*, valued at \$12,000. The schooner was bound for New London, Connecticut after resupplying the Union forces at Key West, Florida. As such, it was sailing in ballast when captured.⁵⁰ The same day, *Winslow* overhauled the brig, *Hannah Balch*. *Hannah Balch* was owned by southern merchants and making way into Savannah, Georgia when taken as a prize by a Union blockade vessel. *Winslow* retook the vessel from the Union prize crew and brought it into New Bern. Although not condemned as a prize due to southern ownership, *Winslow*'s crew still received prize money for recapturing the vessel.⁵¹

On 3 July, the schooner *Herbert Manton* of Barnstable, Massachusetts was bound from Cuba with a cargo of sugar and molasses. *Winslow* overtook the vessel with the entire loss accounting to \$30,000.⁵² On 26 August, both *Herbert Manton* and *Transit* were sold at auction for \$5,000 and \$2,960, respectively.⁵³ Mallison added that the schooner *Pearl* and its cargo of coffee and sugar was captured at the same time as *Herbert Manton*; however, he did not mention which privateer took the schooner. It appears that *Winslow* was the only privateer operating at Hatteras at this time, although this is not confirmed.⁵⁴

The second week of July was active for *Winslow*, but ultimately without any prize captures. First, the schooner *Charles Roberts* was boarded; however, papers proved it was also owned by southern merchants. *Winslow* escorted the vessel and its cargo of molasses to its destination of Wilmington. Next was the schooner, *Priscilla*.

Papers proved the vessel was owned by interests in Baltimore, then considered a neutral port. The schooner was allowed to continue, although the cargo of 600 bushels of salt were taken off the vessel.⁵⁵

North Carolina officially seceded from the United States on 20 May 1861. While it was immediately admitted to the Confederacy the same day, Confederate law required a presidential proclamation for the admission to take effect. Some sources claim admission was immediate; however, Confederate President Jefferson Davis made the official proclamation on 20 July 1861.⁵⁶ This coincides with the official transfer of *Winslow* and other vessels from the State of North Carolina to the Confederate Government. Records indicate it had a crew of 22 sailors, including Master McCarrick, and its commanding officer at the time of transfer.⁵⁷

On 27 July, it was reported that *Winslow* brought in an unknown brig, with a cargo of pork and beef.⁵⁸ Both *Mariner* and *Gordon* arrived at Hatteras at this time. *Mariner* brought in its only prize, the schooner *Nathaniel Chase* on 25 July. No cargo details were given; however, Charles Smith, who was captured when *Mariner* took *Nathaniel Chase* reported that the privateers intended on attacking USS *Daylight* together if it appeared and that plans were being made to increase privateer operations.⁵⁹ *Gordon* brought the brig *William McGilvery* and its cargo of molasses into port on 25 July.⁶⁰ On 28 July, *Gordon* captured the schooner *Protector*, bound from Cuba to Philadelphia with a cargo of fruit.⁶¹

On 4 August, *Gordon* took two schooners as prizes, *Henry Nutt* and *Sea Witch*. *Henry Nutt* was captured with a cargo of mahogany. It was later recaptured on 23 September by Commander Stephen Rowan aboard USS *Pawnee*. At the same time, Rowan mentions another captured brig, *H.C. Brooks*. It had been captured as a prize before being loaded with a Confederate cargo bound for Liverpool that included cotton, turpentine, and tar. It is unclear which privateer captured *H.C. Brooks*, but it may be one of the unnamed brigs in Scharf's list above.⁶² *Sea Witch*, *Gordon*'s second prize on 4 August, carried a cargo of fruit from Cuba.⁶³ Around this time, *York* brought in *B.T. Martin* as a prize. On the day it was destroyed, *York* had recaptured the Texas-owned schooner *George G. Baker* from a Union prize crew before being driven ashore by USS *Union*. *Union* then recaptured *George G. Baker* and placed a new prize crew aboard it while imprisoning the Confederate prize crew. The original prize crew were taken prisoner by the Confederate privateers.⁶⁴

Records detail the minutia of daily life between *Winslow*'s purchase and commission by the State of North Carolina and its commission with the Confederate Navy. Victual receipts from 21 June and 12 July show that the crew was eating mostly fresh or corned beef and vegetables. Local pilots were used on several occasions to take *Winslow* in and out of Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets, including pilots T. G. Willis, William F. Hatsel, Alex Roberts, and James Stynon. Notably, *Winslow* appears to have been burning mostly pine wood instead of coal for its engines, typically taking on eight to ten cords of wood at a time.⁶⁵

In the second week of August, *Winslow* escorted the steamer *Colonel Hill* and schooner *Crinoline* through Hatteras Inlet. After a brief five-night stay in New Bern, on 20 August, *Winslow* brought in the brig *Itasca*, with a cargo of molasses, as the final prize taken off Hatteras. Merchant vessels then started flying British flags as disguise while others sailed in convoys with armed steamers, which made them too dangerous for a single privateer to take.⁶⁶ Eight days later, on 28 August 1861, Union forces attacked Hatteras Inlet.

Winslow's role during the battle was minor. Late in the afternoon on 28 August, *Winslow*, under the command of Commander Arthur Sinclair, who had succeeded Lieutenant Crossan, transported Flag Officer Samuel Barron and ammunition to the batteries during the Union bombardment. Later, after Fort Hatteras surrendered, *Winslow* took on as many officers and soldiers as possible before steaming away. It was later ordered to rendezvous with other vessels at New Bern.⁶⁷

Following the Battle of Hatteras Inlet, itself a major victory for Union morale after defeat at the First Battle of Bull Run (Virginia, July 1861), Flag Officer Lynch began cruising North Carolina's sounds to intercept any Union steamer that crossed Hatteras bar.⁶⁸ These cruises came to some fruition on 1 October 1861 when the Union Army steamer *Fanny* was left alone after its navy escort departed the area. CSS *Curlew* sighted the lone steamer as it was unloading supplies at a Union camp. CSS *Raleigh* and CSS *Junalaska* soon joined *Curlew*. *Fanny* slipped its cable in an attempt to escape the Confederate steamers but was soon captured and pressed into Lynch's fleet.⁶⁹

Records indicate *Winslow* saw little action following the Battle of Hatteras Inlet. It can be assumed that *Winslow* participated in the patrols ordered by Lynch, but no significant engagements occurred. Life continued as usual onboard the steamer. Food still consisted of beef and vegetables. Pine wood was still being used to

heat the boilers.⁷⁰ Notably, records indicate that a pilot was likely assigned to the vessel, as there are no receipts for pilotage. On 15 September, *Winslow* assisted with retrieving heavy guns from Beacon Island and on 30 September delivered supplies to Roanoke Island.⁷¹ Between 29 and 30 October, *Winslow* had a new Franklin stove installed. Unfortunately, it would not be used for long.⁷²

On 19 November 1861, the *New Bern Weekly Progress* reported the loss of *Winslow*. Prior to the arrival of Union vessels to assist a stranded French steamer, *Prony*, *Winslow* began steaming through Pamlico Sound to investigate. McCarrick assumed the vessel was *Great Republic* (although not stated, this possibly refers to the clipper *Great Republic*, which would have been a substantial prize if captured), not realizing the vessel was a stranded French warship. While enroute, *Winslow* struck a derelict, sunken hull in one of the channels before reaching Hatteras Inlet. After many attempts by the crew to refloat the vessel failed, McCarrick made the decision that the vessel was too far damaged to continue attempts to refloat it. The crew abandoned the vessel, blowing it up to ensure it was not captured and refloated by Union forces before going ashore. Survivors of both *Winslow* and *Prony* were rescued by CSS *Sea Bird*.⁷³

Thus ended the career of the most successful early Civil War privateer off Hatteras Inlet. Despite its limited time acting as a privateer, the number of Union merchants *Winslow* took, along with other privateers, in part influenced the Union decision to attack and capture Hatteras Inlet in August 1861. To date, the wreck of *Winslow* has not yet been positively identified by underwater archaeologists.

The Flagship- CSS *Sea Bird*

Benjamin Terry launched *Sea Bird* in early August 1854 at his Keyport, New Jersey shipyard. The sidewheel steamer measured 202 tons, 133 feet long, 20 feet in beam, with an eight-foot depth of hold. It was propelled by a walking beam engine with a 33-inch cylinder and a six-foot piston stroke.⁷⁴ Originally enrolled in New York City under William Small, the steamer made way for its new owners in Norfolk under the command of Captain Martin.⁷⁵ During its sea trials, machinery issues forced *Sea Bird* to put in for Atlantic City, New Jersey. While steaming into harbor, a hurricane began blowing, causing *Sea Bird* to ground and list dangerously. Martin's skill as a captain brought *Sea Bird* upright again and into port. After receiving the required repairs, Martin steamed *Sea Bird* into Norfolk without further incident.⁷⁶

Sea Bird was purchased by the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Steam Navigation Company to replace its previous steamer, *Star*, on the York River steam route.⁷⁷ The route ran from Norfolk up the York River, past West Point, Virginia, and into the Pamunkey River, where *Sea Bird* called at White House, Virginia. The route was run twice weekly, from Norfolk to White House on Mondays and Thursdays, and from White House to Norfolk on Tuesdays and Fridays. It appears *Sea Bird* called at West Point between Norfolk and White House as at least one trip was cancelled after the steamer grounded in the Mattaponi River for two days.⁷⁸ In January 1855 correspondence about the development of shipping in the York River, *Sea Bird* is the only steamer noted as running the route between White House and Norfolk, under the command of Captain Jasper Rowe.⁷⁹

In July 1855, *Sea Bird* carried a large group of well-wishers to congratulate the newly elected Henry Wise in his gubernatorial victory.⁸⁰ In April 1856, *Sea Bird* took on another route in addition to its regular work on the York River. On Wednesdays and Saturdays, *Sea Bird* ferried passengers and freight from Norfolk to Toddsbury, on the North River in Gloucester County, Virginia. Enroute, the steamer stopped at Green's Wharf at the mouth of the North River. *Sea Bird* made the round trip in a day with fares, including meals, being two dollars.⁸¹ A month later, the owners of *Sea Bird* and the steamer *Gladiator* reached an arrangement. Passengers bound for Pungoteague on Virginia's eastern shore would board *Sea Bird* on Thursdays and stop at Yorktown on *Sea Bird's* northern run to White House. From there, they would board *Gladiator* for Pungoteague. On Tuesdays, *Gladiator* would return passengers to Yorktown, where *Sea Bird* would take them on during its return to Norfolk.⁸²

In 1858, the Smithfield, Norfolk, and Portsmouth Steam Packet Company (SNPSPC) purchased *Sea Bird*.⁸³ Despite the change in ownership, there does not appear to have been any changes in the routes *Sea Bird* worked. In October 1859, the Richmond and York River Railroad (RYRR) completed a rail line from Richmond to White House. With the completion of the line, the RYRR sought to establish a connection with Norfolk via steamship. The SNPSPC and RYRR came to an agreement where RYRR would lease *Sea Bird* through the newly established Sea Bird Company. RYRR was in the process of establishing their own route, but interest in *Sea Bird* continued until their own steamer entered service on the York River. During this time, it is known that *Sea Bird* also called at Gloucester Point, Clay Bank, and Allmond's Wharf. It is unknown if these

landings were visited before its purchase by SNPSPC.⁸⁴

In December 1859 and January 1860, *Sea Bird* underwent repairs after breaking a paddle shaft during a storm, but was otherwise leased to RYRR on the York River route until 2 May 1860.⁸⁵ By this time, the state legislature had approved the RYRR's request to establish a steam route and the company was awaiting a newly purchased steamer at the end of May.⁸⁶ As stated above, between 2 to 29 May, *J.E. Coffee* replaced *Sea Bird* on the York and Pamunkey Rivers until the arrival of the steamer *West Point* from Keyport, New Jersey (potentially another Benjamin Terry-built vessel).⁸⁷

The circumstances of why *Sea Bird* was retired from the York River by the SNPSPC are unclear and during the first two weeks of September, *Sea Bird* was advertised as ready to be sold at public auction. In addition to the steamer's dimensions, the advertisement details included that the bottom hull was coppered for protection against rot and all fastenings were copper. Other notes state that it had recently undergone overhauls and had been repainted (potentially referring to the two-month repair hiatus in December 1859 and January 1860).⁸⁸ On 29 September, it was reported that Messrs. Delk and Lindsey had purchased *Sea Bird* with intentions to operate it on Albemarle Sound in North Carolina.⁸⁹

Sea Bird's exact route in Albemarle Sound is unknown. Olson states that *Sea Bird* competed with the steamer *Curlew* on the Chowan River and Albemarle Sound, and it can be assumed that *Sea Bird* ran a similar route, particularly during the summer months when both steamers ferried passengers to the Outer Banks.⁹⁰ *Curlew's* weekly service in Albemarle Sound started in Edenton on Tuesday mornings at 7 AM. From Edenton, it made way for Nags Head. At 2:30 PM on Tuesday, it would depart Nags Head for Elizabeth City on the Pasquotank River. On Wednesdays, *Curlew* left Elizabeth City for Nags Head and at noon made way for Hertford on the Perquimans River. On Thursdays, the steamer would leave Hertford for Nags Head and remained docked the remainder of the day. Fridays would see the vessel steam from Nags Head back to Edenton and remain docked overnight. On Saturday, the route again took *Curlew* from Edenton to Nags Head in the morning and then to Elizabeth City again in the afternoon. On Sundays the steamer would return to Nags Head in the morning, dock overnight, and return to Edenton on Monday morning.⁹¹

Delk and Lindsey appear to have used *Sea*

Bird's proven reliability in the narrow, winding path of the Pamunkey River in Virginia to reach inland markets in North Carolina. Prior to *Sea Bird* arriving via the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, a news article was published in Murfreesboro, on the Meherrin River, a tributary of the Chowan River. The Meherrin River is narrow and winding but navigable up to Murfreesboro, and the article stated *Sea Bird* would arrive at the city's wharf with freight and passengers. The article stated that *Sea Bird's* presence in North Carolina would be of great service to local farmers who could ship their produce to meet market needs, notably because the growing season typically began a week to 10 days before the growing season in Norfolk and southern Virginia.⁹²

Additionally, *Sea Bird* would be available to ferry passengers to Norfolk. The same news article stated that *Sea Bird* was too large to regularly pass through the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, but that barges would meet the steamer at the canal entrance for freight and goods while smaller vessels would take passengers the remainder of the way to Norfolk. Through this connection, *Sea Bird* brought passengers to more widespread connections, including larger steamers running routes from Norfolk to New York City, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston.⁹³ It is unclear when *Sea Bird* made trips to either Murfreesboro or Norfolk or at what point *Sea Bird* could no longer pass through the canal. This paper proposes *Sea Bird* went through the canal between the North River and Currituck Sound in North Carolina and did not regularly pass through the portion of the canal that connected the Elizabeth River to the North Landing River in Virginia.

The news article gives further details about alterations Delk and Lindsey made to the steamer. While operating on the York River route, *Sea Bird* had been a day steamer. Work on the Albemarle potentially included overnight stays for some passengers. Delk and Lindsey met this need by adding staterooms to the steamer with berthing for passengers. Two saloons were added to the vessel for passenger comfort. After the alterations were made, *Sea Bird's* freight capacity equaled 250 bales of cotton and the vessel was able to transport livestock or slaughtered meats and produce.⁹⁴

Ultimately, *Sea Bird* only worked its Albemarle Sound route for a short time. Like *Winslow*, *Sea Bird* was first purchased by the State of North Carolina in the interim between secession and official entry into the Confederacy. Unlike *Winslow*, the details of *Sea Bird's* purchase are better documented.

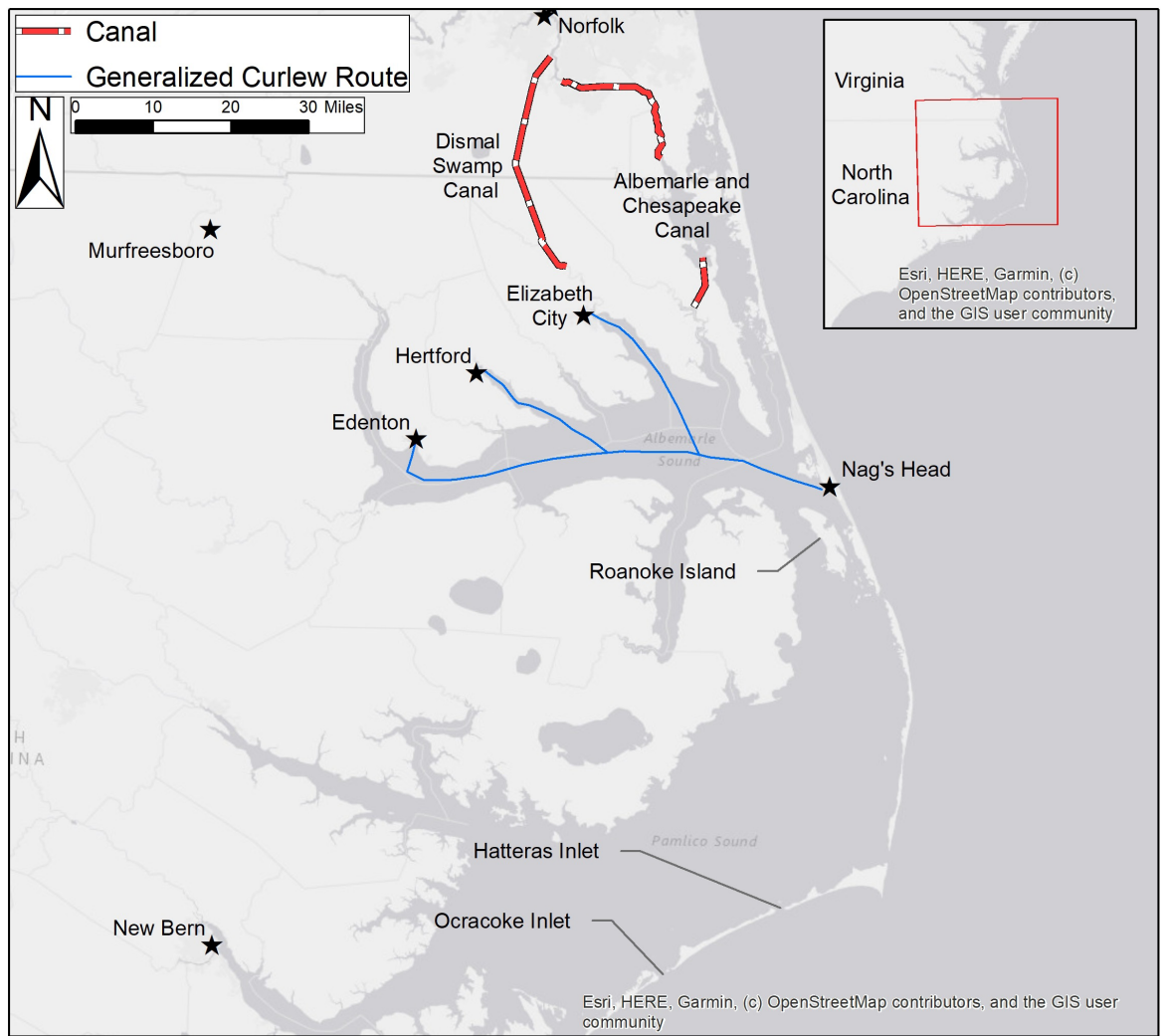


Figure 3. General reconstruction of Curlew's summer ferry route and locations associated with CSS Winslow and CSS Sea Bird in North Carolina (map created by author).

On 16 April 1861, the day after the outbreak of war, naval agent Marshall Parks sent a letter to Governor John Ellis, stating, "we have a number of steamers available running through the [Albemarle and Chesapeake and/or Dismal Swamp] canal belonging to the company and citizens of N.C. These steamers can be equipped as gunboats at short notice and may render good service to the state at any time should their services be needed."⁹⁵ On 9 May, Parks lists *Sea Bird* as one of the steamers Ellis might consider for purchase with the following notes: "*Sea Bird*- side wheel, condensing engine, fast, currently on the Chowan."⁹⁶

On 4 June 1861, Ellis received word from General Walter Gwynn regarding *Sea Bird's* price, along with the price of the steamers *Kahukee* and *Caledonia*. *Kahukee* was by far the most expensive at \$17,600. *Sea Bird* and *Caledonia* were both listed as \$10,000 each. Two days later, Gwynn sent word that *Sea Bird's* price was actually \$12,000, not \$10,000 listed in his previous communication.⁹⁷ Ellis approved the purchase of both vessels, with *Caledonia* renamed and commissioned as *Beaufort*. It would join *Winslow* at Hatteras Inlet in the final days of privateer operations. After finalizing the sale from Delk and Lindsey, *Sea Bird* was commissioned in

July 1861 and outfitted with a 32-pounder Dahlgren gun and a 30-pounder Parrot rifle. The muster roll shows a complement of 29 sailors and Flag Officer Lynch.⁹⁸

While *Winslow* saw immediate action operating as a privateer off Hatteras, Lynch chose *Sea Bird* as his flagship, and it fell into more routine duties. It was not present when the Union attacked Hatteras Inlet. Following Lynch's orders to begin immediate patrols, *Sea Bird* regularly traversed the North Carolina sounds, attempting to intercept any solitary Union vessels like *Fanny*. On 5 November, after *Winslow* sank while enroute to *Prony*, *Sea Bird* successfully rescued the French crew and took them to Norfolk after a short time of being grounded near the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal locks.⁹⁹ It is unclear if *Sea Bird* suffered extensive damage during the rescue and grounding, but it remained in Norfolk for repairs from 11 to 22 November.¹⁰⁰

Like *Winslow*, *Sea Bird* was also burning cord wood as fuel during this time. Previously, on 11 September 1861, Lynch had procured the sale of 342 tons of anthracite coal from the prize vessel *Glenn* in Charleston, South Carolina.¹⁰¹ By mid-October, the coal had reached Lynch's fleet.¹⁰² However, it appears to

have been stored in Norfolk and not readily available to the fleet without steaming up the Dismal Swamp or Albemarle and Chesapeake Canals. In November, records indicate *Sea Bird* was still using cord wood while in North Carolina waters.¹⁰³ On 17 January 1862, just weeks before the Battle of Roanoke Island, Lynch purchased another 20 tons of anthracite coal.¹⁰⁴

On 29 December 1861, *Sea Bird* made a prize of an unnamed schooner being towed by the U.S. Army steamer *Express*. The schooner was carrying a supply of water to Fort Monroe, the sole fortification held by Union forces in the Norfolk area. *Express* was unarmed, and to save itself, cut the schooner loose. *Sea Bird* quickly put it in tow and retreated to Norfolk. Eight Union steamers followed to engage *Sea Bird*, but the vessel was too far ahead of them. *Sea Bird* received support from batteries at Sewell's Point and Craney Island after steaming within range of their guns. The eight Union steamers began firing on the batteries before receiving orders to return to the blockading fleet.¹⁰⁵ Early January saw *Sea Bird* transporting Lynch as he inspected shore batteries throughout the state.¹⁰⁶ On 28 January 1862 it was reported the sailors serving aboard *Sea Bird* were in great need of new clothes, having been exposed to many of the winter elements while in service.¹⁰⁷

In January 1861, *Sea Bird* rendezvoused with *Curlew*, *Appomattox*, *Ellis*, *Beaufort*, *Raleigh*, *Forrest*, and *Black Warrior* and made way for Roanoke Island. Intelligence had informed them the Burnside Expedition was assembling at Hatteras Inlet with the clear intent of taking Roanoke Island and thereby Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds before advancing into the North Carolina rivers. It is unclear how long the vessels were at Roanoke Island before the battle on 7 February; however, Lieutenant William H. Parker, in command of CSS *Beaufort*, noted that he joined the rest of the fleet in mid-January.¹⁰⁸ The west side of the island had several sunken hulls and pilings to hinder the Union fleet advance through the channel. The Union flotilla was first spotted approaching the marshes on Roanoke Island's southern end on 6 February 1862. Weather was bad and the Union fleet anchored rather than risk an amphibious assault in adverse conditions. Parker noted that he met with Flag Officer Lynch on *Sea Bird* that night, where they discussed battle plans and the poor prospects for victory. Burnside's combined naval division alone outnumbered their fleet significantly with 20 gunboats.¹⁰⁹

At 10:30 AM on 7 February 1862, Union

naval gunboats advanced and stationed below the obstructions to bombard Forts Huger, Blanchard, and Bartow on the north end of Roanoke Island. Lynch's fleet stood to above the sunken obstructions and feigned, attempting to draw the Union gunboats within range of the guns at Fort Huger and Blanchard. When the Union fleet did not pursue among the obstructions, Lynch ordered his vessels to their stations and to fire on the Union fleet, attempting to assist the forts.¹¹⁰ Following the battle, Lynch remarked that they were originally firing at long range, but their shells fell short, forcing the gunboats to move in closer with the enemy.¹¹¹ Early in the battle, *Forrest's* engines were disabled. Later, a shell passed through *Curlew*, sinking the vessel. The remainder of Lynch's fleet continued firing on the Union fleet until the latter retired for the night. By then, Lynch had exhausted all ammunition, and none could be spared from the forts above. *Sea Bird* took *Forrest* in tow and Lynch ordered a retreat to Elizabeth City.¹¹²

The steamers reached the city later that evening and prepared to take on ammunition. Lynch stated that because there were no significant stores of ammunition in the city, he sent *Raleigh* up the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal to Norfolk to return with powder and shells. The Dismal Swamp Canal locks were not functional at the time, and Lynch ordered their immediate repair. *Forrest* was sent to the ways to begin repairs. Meanwhile, *Sea Bird* and *Appomattox* were loaded with munitions found in the city. On 9 February, *Sea Bird* and *Appomattox* began steaming back down the Pasquotank River with intentions to continue assisting the forts on Roanoke Island. While enroute, a local boat informed them of the island's capitulation. Accepting their comrades' defeat, Lynch continued downriver, with the intention of saving men stationed on a floating battery along the mainland. Instead, a reorganized Union naval fleet, under Commander Stephen Rowan, was already pursuing Lynch and his fleet. Having spotted the two Confederate steamers, several vessels gave chase. Lynch was again able to escape to Elizabeth City while Rowan's fleet anchored at the mouth of the river.¹¹³

After returning to Elizabeth City, Lynch divided the ammunition aboard *Sea Bird* and *Appomattox* between the remaining vessels. A small four-gun battery, Fort Cobb, had been erected on Cobb's Point, roughly two miles below the city. Lynch sent the schooner *Black Warrior* to anchor opposite the fort. The steamers *Sea Bird*, *Ellis*, *Beaufort*, *Appomattox*, and *Fanny* formed a line abreast across the

Figure 3. USS Commodore Perry Sinks CSS Sea Bird
(Image from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1862).



Pasquotank River about half of a mile above the battery and schooner. There, they anchored in place for the night.¹¹⁴

The next morning, at 8:00 AM, the Union fleet was sighted steaming cautiously upriver in three columns. Rowan was unsure if Lynch had retreated up the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk, unaware of the ongoing repairs to the locks. Lynch had by this point joined a small militia force at Fort Cobb to man the guns. Upon sighting the Union fleet, the militiamen deserted. In desperation, Lynch ordered *Beaufort's* crew to the battery, leaving only a skeleton crew on the steamer with orders to retreat if the battle quickly turned against them.¹¹⁵ When the Union fleet was within two miles of Cobb's Point, the Confederate fleet began firing. Fort Cobb followed suit shortly after at 8:30 AM.¹¹⁶ Lynch expected Rowan to take position to bombard Fort Cobb, as the Union fleet had at Roanoke Island days before and was thus taken aback by Rowan's next orders.

At approximately 8:45 AM, when his fleet was within three-quarters of a mile of Cobb's Point, Rowan signaled to, "dash at the enemy!"¹¹⁷ His vanguard column put on full steam to attack the Confederate fleet. Immediately, Lieutenant Jeffers, in command of USS *Underwriter*, advanced on *Sea Bird*. Seeing *Beaufort* in a hasty retreat, he disengaged from *Sea Bird* and began to pursue the retreating steamer upriver.¹¹⁸ *Appomattox* joined *Beaufort* in retreat after its sailors accidentally spiked the bow gun. *Appomattox* continued to fire its stern howitzer at *Underwriter*. At the same time, USS *Whitehead* closed in on *Black Warrior* and the schooner was set ablaze to

prevent capture.¹¹⁹ USS *Valley City* began directing artillery fire on Fort Cobb.¹²⁰ *Fanny* was run aground and set on fire after it was hit by a shell from USS *Commodore Perry*. Crew from USS *Lockwood* boarded the burning vessel to capture its flag.¹²¹ *Ellis* grounded itself while attempting to re-engage the Union vessels after unsuccessfully trying to board *Commodore Perry*. USS *Ceres* grounded itself next to *Ellis*, boarded the vessel, and captured it following hand-to-hand combat.¹²²

Sea Bird, the center of the Confederate line, continued to be targeted after Lieutenant Jeffers disengaged. Lieutenant Flusser, commanding *Commodore Perry*, directed his vessel at full steam towards the Confederate flagship. Screaming at his sailors and attached marines that if any quarter was given, he'd shoot the cowards himself, Flusser ordered his pilot to ram *Sea Bird*. Calling for boarders, Flusser jumped to *Sea Bird's* deck with a brace of pistols and ordered surrender. Union sailors armed with cutlasses and pistols met Confederate sailors armed with cutlasses and boarding axes. The hand-to-hand combat was brief before Lieutenant Patrick McCarrick surrendered his sword to Flusser. There was no doubt to the reason: *Sea Bird* was sinking below their feet.¹²³ After only 15 minutes of battle, Lynch's fleet was effectively destroyed with the *Sea Bird* resting on the bottom of the shallow Pasquotank River, upper decks still exposed.

The ultimate disposition of *Sea Bird* is unknown. Rowan gives no mention of clearing it from the river following the battle. At some point, the steamer was more than likely salvaged, cleared from the shipping channel,

or broken up. An advertisement in May 1867 provides a potential fate for *Sea Bird*. On May 21, W. R. Roberts auctioned a barge named *Seabird* in Norfolk, noting it was formerly the sidewheel steamer *Seabird*, with dimensions matching those of the former Confederate flagship. The barge was described as suitable for southern trade, presumably in Albemarle or Pamlico Sound, or could be taken north through the Chesapeake and Delaware or Delaware and Raritan Canals.¹²⁴ During archaeological remote sensing projects to investigate the Battle of Elizabeth City, side-scan sonar data did not depict any exposed hull structure in the battle's core areas of engagement, providing further evidence that *Sea Bird* does not exist as an archaeological site.¹²⁵ If *Sea Bird* was raised and auctioned off as a barge, there is no indication of its ultimate disposition.

Conclusions

The overwhelming force of the Union Navy after the outbreak of the Civil War far outweighed the Confederate Navy. In most cases, defeat was a foregone conclusion, and the overarching Confederate response was to double down on fortifications seized from Federal forces at the beginning of hostilities and hurriedly constructing their own shore batteries. Small naval forces were built around seized revenue cutters, chartered steamers, and the promise of purpose-built naval vessels. Until then, conventional wisdom placed faith in forts to hold out until a fleet could oppose Union naval forces.

The State of North Carolina took a far more proactive approach. Their response was to invest in a fleet of armed gunboats mobilized from local civilian vessels and seized artillery. Through looking at both *Winslow* and *Sea Bird*, several characteristics can be noted. They were all familiar and well tested in Chesapeake Bay and the rivers and sounds of North Carolina and southern Virginia. The shallow environment of these water bodies offered significant issues to the Union Navy prior to their own mobilization and after the capture of Hatteras Inlet. Furthermore, despite not being constructed to do so, these steamers could mount batteries of at least one heavy bow gun and smaller stern howitzers, if not more heavy guns, as necessary.

In many ways, North Carolina's approach to developing their defense system throughout the eastern and river counties paralleled that of the Union Navy. The naval division under Commander Rowan at the Battles of Roanoke Island and Elizabeth City were made up entirely of converted civilian steamers as well,

dispelling General Wise's comments on Lynch's deplorable, imbecile fleet. North Carolina proved to be too strategic a location with the ability to attack Virginia from the south. To that end, the Union Navy mobilized the larger force to attack early and decidedly, turning the naval campaign in the sounds into a numbers game.

Despite the odds against them, *Winslow* and *Sea Bird* demonstrate that the State of North Carolina was not willing to passively fight from shore and instead intended to contest their waters when the Union came. While other Confederate fleets were quickly overrun without much fight, Lynch's fleet, though small, was a well-planned addition to the defense of North Carolina.

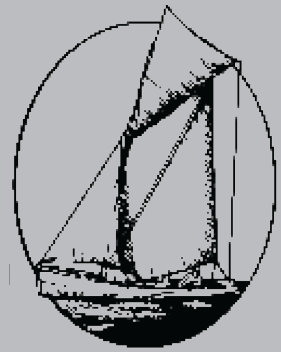
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Building the Bridge to Paradise:

The Early Years of Automobile Tourism on the Outer Banks, 1926-1931

by Jim Senter

Two decades into the twentieth century, the Outer Banks – that chain of barrier islands lining the coast of Dare and Hyde Counties – was much as it ever was. Mass produced wonders such as electric lights, refrigerators and radios transformed millions of households, while the influence of the automobile swiftly rearranged the layout of mainland cities and changed the way families vacationed.

Because of its unusual geography, these changes were slow to come to the Outer Banks. Residents of the coastal islands still rode ox carts and ponies through the sand and pulled their subsistence from the ocean. The coastal region was looked upon as an exotic refuge from the noise and bustle of the mainland. A trip across the sounds was a journey back in time to a place where life was lived at the pace of the rising tide, and residents spoke in the voice of Elizabethan England. This nostalgia for our pioneer past brought a growing number of tourists to Dare County as the 1920s progressed.

In their attempt to bring the Banks into the twentieth century, local business and political leaders utilized this attitude to promote interest in the region. Developers began to buy oceanfront properties and planned their resorts. To be successful, however, resorts required easy automobile access. At the same time, the expenditure of public funds to build highways and bridges to the coast required a public interest in Dare County that did not exist before 1926. As part of the effort

to build a constituency for coastal road building, the state and federal governments began to develop historical monuments at Fort Raleigh and on Kill Devil Hills.

While it may seem a foregone conclusion now, a century ago there was nothing taken for granted in the construction of highways to the coast. Numerous people with varying interest left every move contested. Every village wanted their

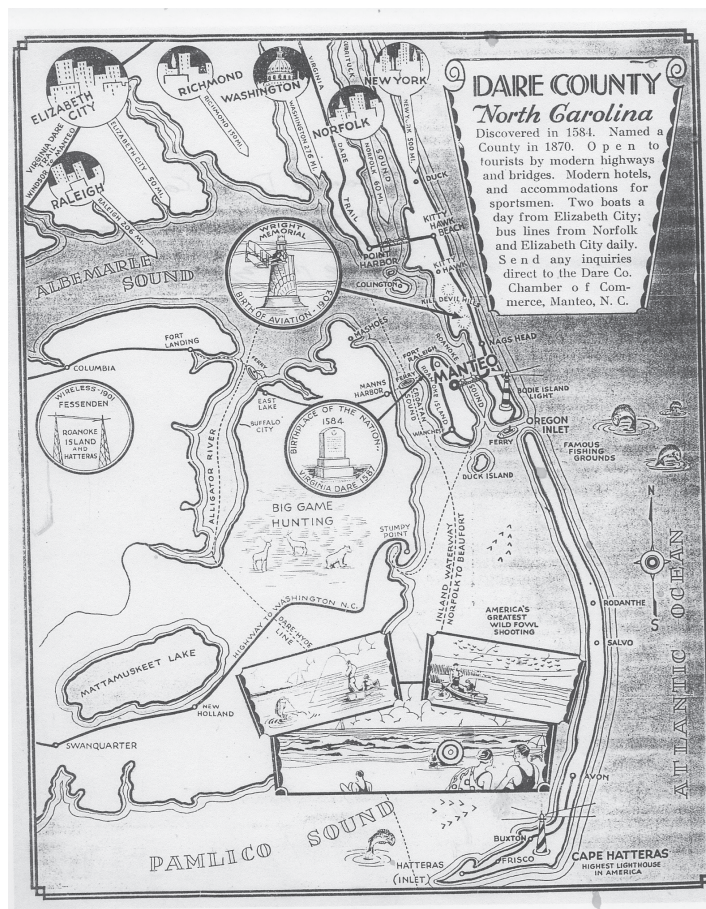


Figure 1. On the reverse side of their stationery, The Dare County Chamber of Commerce used the region's natural features and historic shrines to promote tourism on the Outer Banks (Image courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center).

road built first. Even national economic events threw up a final obstacle to the completion of the coastal highway. In the end, the paved road and bridges connecting Dare County to the mainland were completed, and with them, the foundation was laid for the Outer Banks we know today.

On the coast of North Carolina, 1926 began brutally cold. From Whale Head Bay in the north, south to Durant Point and beyond, boats were frozen fast at their moorings. The steamer *Trenton*, which plied the Albemarle carrying mail and people between Elizabeth City, Nags Head and Manteo, sat locked in ice in Manteo harbor.

The challenges of transportation in Dare County were demonstrated ten days earlier by the experience of Roosevelt Stowe and Milton Haskett, who left Elizabeth City in a motorboat with the intention of being with family in Hatteras village for Christmas. Engine failure left them adrift in rough weather. A northwest wind drove them down Pamlico Sound, finally leaving them aground three miles short of their destination. When the sun dropped below the horizon, the temperature dropped as well, and the young men struggled to avoid death from exposure. The next morning, the two were discovered by Stowe's brother, who brought them to Hatteras where they were revived.¹

Fleeing the cold, twenty-two Elizabeth City residents boarded a train to Miami. The trip was organized by Harold Foreman who wanted to get his neighbors to join his investment in Miami real estate. As the *Independent*, Elizabeth City's muckraking weekly, reported, "the lowest price lots shown any of the party were \$4,200 apiece. Some of the lots at this price were still under water and couldn't be seen, but the real estate folks showed them a five-million-dollar hotel that had been built in 16 weeks." A week later, another sixteen Elizabeth City residents, boarded a train for south Florida, sponsored by a Hollywood, Florida developer (the *Independent* was owned and edited by W. O. Saunders).²

While those who could fled south to avoid frigid temperatures, the region was in crisis. Fishing and hunting, the backbone of the coastal economy, were in decline. The passage of the Migratory Bird Act in 1918 regulated the hunting of waterfowl for the first time. The number of fish sold to Elizabeth City wholesalers, and the size of waterfowl flocks stopping to feed in Currituck Sound on their annual migration, dropped throughout the nineteen-twenties. Ezekiel Rollins Daniels of Wanchese, owner of the Globe Fish Company, the largest fish wholesaler in northeast North

Carolina, told the *Independent*, "in spite of anything we may say, fishing isn't as good as it used to be and more fishermen every year are finding it harder to make a living... A great number have moved away from the county. More will be going unless something is done to relieve conditions."³ Things were so bad that a number of Roanoke Island fishermen took to the land to grow peaches and figs instead. In the winter of 1925-1926, hunting clubs closed their doors because of the scarcity of ducks on Currituck Sound.⁴

In the spring of 1926, the Internal Revenue Service decided to tax the entire sale price of real estate as income, not just the down payment; and the south Florida boom came screeching to a halt.⁵ "Florida Boom Bursts; We Get One Next," declared the *Goldsboro Daily Argus*.⁶ The people of the Outer Banks began to look to the future for a different way to make a living.

A strange name began to appear in the Dare County Registry of Deeds among the Stow, Meekins, Baum and Midgett titles, families who had been on the Banks for decades. Allen Hueth, a real estate and insurance agent from Asbury Park, New Jersey, bought large tracts of land on Hatteras Island, Bodie Island, and on Kitty Hawk Bay beginning in May 1926.⁷ The *Independent* reported a large increase of "entries" where a citizen of the county could lay claim to land to which no other citizen had title. So many transactions were taking place that Melvin Daniels, the Dare County Registrar of Deeds, complained of having to work late into the night, missing his Wednesday night prayer meetings. This surge of interest was attributed to the purchase of large tracts of Dare County land by unidentified New York and New Jersey agents who had been introduced to the area on hunting trips and were impressed with the recreation potential of the region. Everyone expected the value of Dare County real estate to increase as transportation facilities improved.⁸

In response to the entry article, Hueth wrote to D. Victor Meekins, filling in for Saunders as editor of the *Independent* at the time, and offered to cut him in on a deal involving land on Bodie Island. Hueth suggested that the *Independent* keep quiet about the purchase of beach property "...because if one is attempting to work out a proposition on a gigantic scale and information leaks out, little money can be made for the promoters (sic)." In a later letter, Hueth introduced Meekins to "Mr. [Frank] Stick, my associate in the purchase of these lands."⁹

Theodore S. Meekins, a resident of Manteo and Dare County's only real estate agent, made an agreement with Hueth and Stick to enter unclaimed land on Hatteras Island and turn the

deeds over to the New Jersey men, in exchange for a dollar an acre and stock in the company to be formed to develop the land.¹⁰ In 1925, Meekins made a single entry into Hatteras Island land and none in the preceding years. In contrast, in the two years following signing the agreement, he made eighteen. In total, Theodore Meekins claimed nearly nineteen hundred acres for the men from Asbury Park, including one 650-acre tract just north of Cape Hatteras that ran from sea to sound.¹¹ Meekins described what was at stake for the county when he told the *Independent*, “a resort development not only brings about increased valuation, improved property, higher assessments and more taxes, but brings hundreds of people of the highest type who stay a goodly portion of the year, and purchase most of their living needs in the county.”¹²

In June, Saunders declared from the pages of the *Independent*, “the vacation season is on!”¹³ He informed those contemplating a trip to the coast that two steamers a day carrying passengers and autos left Elizabeth City for Manteo and Nags Head, with an extra one on Sunday. “...the coast is calling to vacationists this year, as it has never called before. The automobile makes it possible for the call to be heeded.”¹⁴

To amplify the volume of this call, highways into the region were needed to bypass the day-long ferry trip from Elizabeth City and Norfolk. However, construction of those highways was hampered by the way the North Carolina Highway Commission was structured. The 1921

Highway Act put North Carolina on the road to becoming “The Good Roads State,” a model for the nation. It authorized the Commission to create a state highway system by taking over responsibility for 5500 miles of road from the counties, and to levy a gasoline tax to pay for highway maintenance. The Highway Act also provided for a \$50 million bond issue to pay for the construction of paved highways between every county seat in the state. As the number of vehicle registrations leaped from 149,000 in 1921 to 340,000 in 1925, a large highway fund accumulated. This money was distributed in proportion to the population of each county, which left the poor and sparsely populated regions of the east and west of the state on the short end.¹⁵

As the top elected official in northeast North Carolina, Representative Lindsay Warren, a native of Washington, N.C., was deluged with requests for intercession in Highway Commission decisions. One Currituck County resident, Robert Johnson, complained to Warren that five years after the state committed itself to build a highway system connecting all the county seats, “not one yard of such road has yet been constructed in this county and coming [sic] in and going out of the County is more difficult now than it was before the Act was passed...”¹⁶ Warren wrote to Frank Page, chairman of the Highway Commission in disgust, “I am getting so damned tired of this road business that I almost wish there was not such a thing.”¹⁷

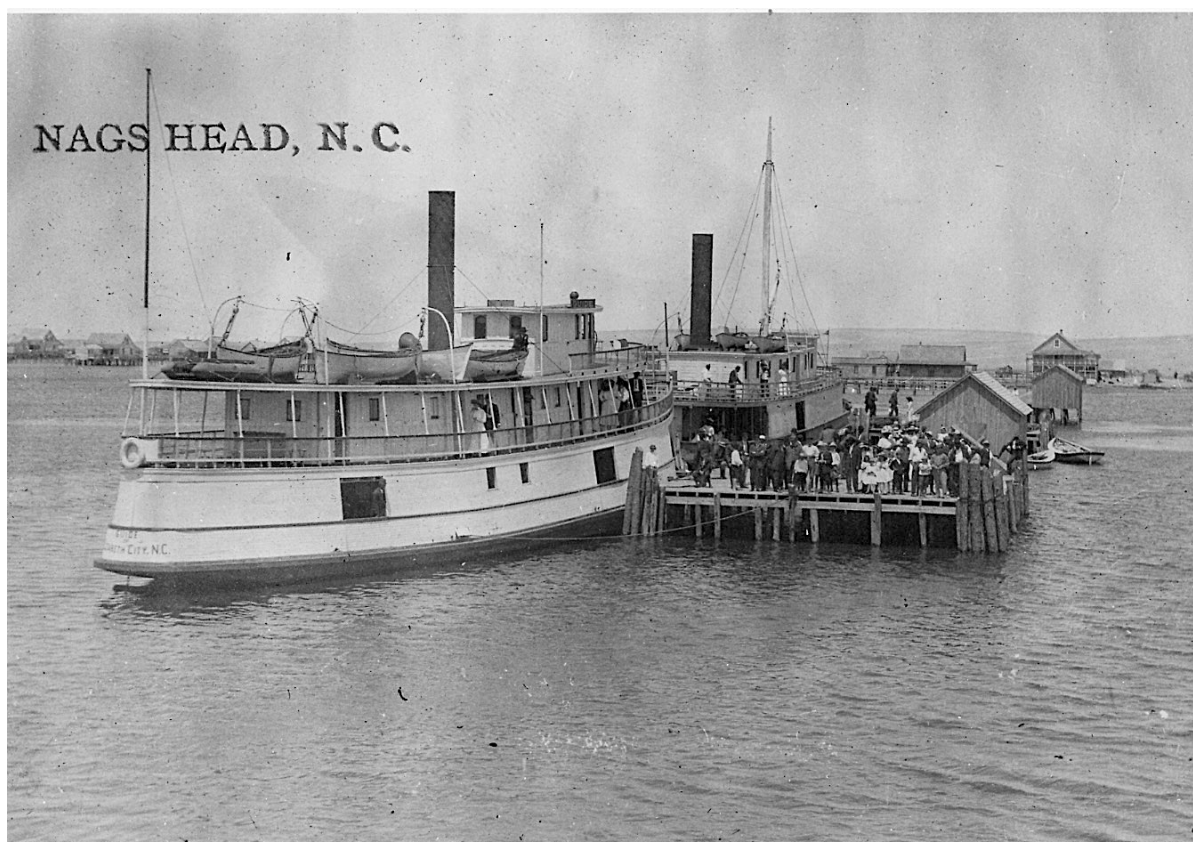


Figure 2. Nags Head ferry, circa 1920. Prior to the completion of the Wright Memorial Bridge, the waterways were the highways. Ferries such as this carried people between Norfolk, Elizabeth City and the Outer Banks on a daily basis (Photo courtesy of Wilson Special Collections Library, North Carolina Photograph Collection Archive, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill).

In the 1920s, the nation's roads were a tangle of poorly marked, poorly maintained dirt roads; pavement was confined to the cities. A movement arose to knit the nation together with a network of federally funded interstate highways. In the summer of 1926, the American Automobile Association sent a pathfinder team to map the best route for such a highway through the maze of roads between Washington, D.C. and Miami. The leader of the team said of the route, "in time to come hundreds of thousands of motorists will be captivated by its lure. This lure will constitute the greatest business asset that this territory has ever had."¹⁸

Recognizing their common interest in highways that would integrate them into the state's economy, the county governments of northeast North Carolina came together with representatives of the business community in the Greater Albemarle Association to coordinate their lobbying of the Highway Commission and to push to educate the public about the importance of new roads to the region's economic future.¹⁹

Other associations took a more indirect path to building a constituency for road building in the coastal region. The oldest of these was the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, formed in 1894 to preserve the site of Raleigh's settlement and to bring Virginia Dare's birthday on August 18 to the attention of the nation.²⁰ The Kill Devil Hills Memorial Association was incorporated in 1927 with W. O. Saunders as president, to promote the building of a monument to the first heavier than air flight at Kitty Hawk as well as the construction of the highways needed to make the monument accessible to the world.

Through these associations, private citizens and elected officials crafted the past. "Historic shrines" were built to be focal points for public attention and historical imagination. At the same time, this past was used to promote the realization of a vision of the future that involved the construction of highways into the region, projects that couldn't be justified by the needs of the resident population alone. With the development of the Wright Memorial and the Fort Raleigh sites, the people of the state and nation would have an interest in easy access to Dare County.²¹

There is no indication in the registry of deeds that D. V. Meekins took Hueth up on his offer of a piece of the action in Bodie Island real estate, but the *Independent* did hold off on the real estate story for the next four months. Instead, attention was focused on the Dare County Homecoming, announced in the spring by Congressman Warren. Warren shepherded through Congress an appropriation of \$2,500 for a marker to be erected at the site of the Lost Colony and began work on an additional appropriation of \$100,000 to build a memorial to the Wright brother's First Flight on Kill Devil Hills. The unveiling of this monument was planned for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the flight in 1928.²²

The Dare County Homecoming Committee cooperated with the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association to invite the far-flung sons and daughters of Dare County to a celebration of the birth of Virginia Dare to be held on Roanoke Island on August 18. Previous pageants had largely been ignored by mainland people. However, Congressman Warren's efforts and the growing interest in coastal development promised something different in 1926. The

Figure 3. People gather on the dock at Virginia Dare Shores to celebrate Virginia Dare's birthday, 1927 (Photo courtesy of The Outer Banks History Center, Maude Stick Collection).



entire North Carolina Congressional delegation planned to attend, as did North Carolina's Governor McLean and former Governor Morrison. President Coolidge wrote a letter to be read that day and Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador to the United States, agreed to present the keynote address. To accommodate the expected crowds, the Committee arranged to have two additional ferries a day run between Elizabeth City and Manteo the week prior to the event, as well as the Trenton's regular trip. Another ferry was to run between Point Harbor twice a day starting in July 15.²³

Ambassador Howard set sail from Washington on August 17, aboard the Coast Guard Cutter *Apache*. He arrived at Roanoke Island the following morning and disembarked at the Fort Raleigh site into a crush of people. As the *News and Observer* reported in a front-page article the following day, "thousands upon thousands of people, by some miracle of persistence, got themselves to the island, and by some further miracle, Dare County entertained them." As the Ambassador worked his way up the slope to the speakers' platform, the Navy Band from Norfolk, resplendent in their dress whites, entertained the crowd with Sousa marches and popular tunes. The crowd erupted into cheers when the band struck up "Dixie."

Ambassador Howard spoke with pride of the courage that brought Virginia Dare's parents to the New World, and of the culture and language that bound England and the United States with unbreakable ties. He praised Sir Walter Raleigh as England's first imperialist, the first to attempt to transplant the authority of the crown from the British Isles into other lands. He suggested that the time would soon come when the United States would take up the imperial burden of civilizing the world.²⁴

After the *Apache* carried Ambassador Howard back to Washington and the Homecoming crowds had returned home, the people of Dare County took stock of their recent experience. The limitations imposed by reliance on ferries for links to the mainland had been demonstrated by the breakdown of the Point Harbor ferryboat which left many who wanted to attend the homecoming stranded on the mainland.²⁵

The response to the event showed that there was a nationwide interest in the county and its development. Henry LeRoy, an Elizabeth City lawyer, and owner of a Nags Head boarding house told the *Independent* that he turned out thirty guests when he closed up early in September and continued to get phone calls requesting lodging. He proposed that the state pave a road between Kitty Hawk and Nags Head.

"The Nags Head section is bound to become a great resort," he stated, "and the people of the two villages are badly in need of and entitled to a good road."²⁶

In the fall of 1926, Hueth and Stick worked with Daniel Webster Hayman in their purchase of land. Hayman, a native of Kitty Hawk, had gone to sea as a boy. In early 1924, he became captain of the personal yacht of Barron G. Collier, an advertising innovator, and the largest landowner in southern Florida at the time. They cruised the Atlantic coast when the Florida boom was at its height, and Hayman saw what Dare County might become. He returned to Kitty Hawk in late 1925 and sought interest in Dare County real estate among the wealthy northerners he came to know while in Collier's employ. Hampered by lack of capital, he managed to take an option from his uncle for 1200 acres on Kitty Hawk Bay. As the Florida real estate bubble burst in May 1925 and Allan Hueth began buying Dare County beach land, Hayman got the attention of Joseph Morris, a Norfolk banker, who started funding his purchases. In September, the men from Asbury Park bought options on 2500 acres in the Kitty Hawk area from Hayman and Morris. Hayman was also given stock in the company put together to develop those lands, becoming Hueth and Stick's partner.²⁷

Prior to 1926, the responsibilities and activities of Dare and Currituck County governments were rather limited. They were responsible for the operation of county jails, the construction and operation of schools, and the organization of volunteer work crews that maintained county roads, such as they were. As the decade ended, and more cars were ferried into Dare County, the commissioners were frequently asked to provide lumber and funds to bridge the sloughs that storms opened across Hatteras Island. Their only other major responsibility was the maintenance of the county poor list, those elderly, disabled or otherwise infirm people who needed public assistance. Even before the crash of 1929, there were dozens of people in the coastal counties who counted on the four or five dollars a month they received from the county commissioners. This limited role for county governments began to change in the autumn.²⁸

Having completed their land acquisition, Hueth and Stick went public in October. Stick approached the Dare County Commissioners with a request that they work with Currituck County to build a toll bridge connecting Kitty Hawk with the mainland. The commissioner's meeting was also attended by W. A. Worth, an Elizabeth City lawyer, who represented anonymous local men who bought property north of Kitty Hawk at Martin's Point. Facing a local economy that was in tatters, the Dare

County Commissioners, under the leadership of Washington Baum of Manteo, responded enthusiastically. They resolved to build a bridge across Roanoke Sound, connecting Manteo and Nags Head, as well as to support the construction of a bridge across Currituck Sound. In so resolving, they noted how travel to the mainland from anywhere in the county was impossible except by boat; and that providing bridge and highway access would mean, “a great ease and saving of time, and would naturally enhance the value of all lands of the County.”²⁹

The *Independent* presented another aspect of the Commissioner’s decision. Under the headline, “Millions May Be Spent to Make Our Coast a Rich Man’s Paradise,” Saunders editorialized, “to make a go of any coastal development, that development must be accessible to motorists from the mainland. That is why big interests are now demanding a bridge across Currituck Sound... One may expect to see almost anything happen on the sand dunes of the North Carolina coast next summer.”³⁰

Despite their limited resources, the Dare County Commissioners commenced building the approach to the Roanoke Sound bridge in December. While the county waited for the General Assembly to authorize the issuance of county bridge bonds, a dredge started piling sand into a causeway across the marshes on the east side of the island.³¹

The Currituck County Commissioners had a much chillier response to the idea of bridging Currituck Sound with county funds. When W. A. Worth, representing bridge advocates, approached them in January, he was soundly rejected. The meeting minutes tersely state, “the purpose of this meeting is to hear attorney W. A. Worth representing northern interest [sic] in regards to the bridging of Currituck Sound to Dare County from or near Point Harbor. The Board refused to consider the matter and refused all propositions.”³² A month later, Worth approached them again, this time in the company of Frank Stick, who according to the newspaper accounts of the meeting “...has been interested in a large development project on the Carolina Banks.” The proposal was supported by all the commissioners, except their chairman, who objected to the financial burden it would put on county taxpayers. No vote was taken; and after once again mentioning, “northern interests buying up real estate in Dare County,” the minutes succinctly state that, “the board turned all matters presented to them down and refused to grant legislative action for a proposed bond issue.”³³

While the Currituck Commissioners could legitimately question the wisdom of investing

county funds in a bridge that would most immediately benefit Dare County, there were other concerns as well. At the same time the Currituck Sound bridge proposal was rejected out of hand due to financial constraints, Commissioners seriously considered lending the state \$200,000 to pave a fourteen mile stretch of road in the county.³⁴ The Dare County homecoming was not the only public meeting that began with people cheering “Dixie.” In a landscape where gatherings of Civil War veterans were routinely reported, and survivors of the “Lost Cause” lionized in newspapers across the state, one can’t help but hear echoes of sectional resentment in Currituck County’s terse rejection of “northern interests.”³⁵

Norfolk businessmen proposed that the federal government build a highway down the oceanfront from Norfolk to Beaufort. They argued that such a highway would increase the effectiveness of the Coast Guard stations along the Graveyard of the Atlantic. Instead of dragging equipment through the sand, lifesavers could speed them down a paved highway. Though it wasn’t directly his concern as a member of Congress, Lindsay Warren traveled the state when not in Washington, giving speeches to civic organizations, insisting that an improved road system was the key to progress and that they key to improved roads was increasing the state’s responsibility to build and maintain them.³⁶

Unknown to newspaper readers at the time, another group of Asbury Park developers became involved in Kitty Hawk real estate. In November, Hueth and Stick purchased 772 acres south and east of Kill Devil Hills from W. O. Twiford, then sold it a week later to the Carolina Shores Company, a New Jersey corporation, for \$25,000. Carl Low was president and Charles Baker was a primary shareholder in Carolina Shores.³⁷

In the run up to the January meeting of the Currituck County Commissioners, Frank Stick telegraphed Congressman Warren in Washington D.C. and offered to donate Kill Devil Hills to the government in the event of the establishment of a First Flight Memorial. Charles Baker, representing the Carolina Shores Company, also offered to donate land to the memorial. In the febrile atmosphere of coastal North Carolina at the time, the positive publicity the offer generated certainly helped them in their approach to the Currituck County Commissioners. The *Independent*, on reporting the offer, acknowledged another motivation. After mentioning how unusual it was that a Dare County landowner would offer to give land away in the booming real estate market that existed, the *Independent* observed that, “the Stick crowd

are far-sighted. They have sense to appreciate the material increase in the value of their other holdings, in the event a memorial is erected that would attract many tourists and sightseers.”³⁸

In early February 1927, Captain E. H. Poole of Manteo raised concerns about the financial viability of the Roanoke Sound bridge, the approaches to which were then under construction. According to Poole, with the total cost of the bridge estimated to be \$200,000, every one of Roanoke Island’s 250 automobile owners would have to make one round trip a week to cover the operating and financing costs of the bridge. Capt. Poole thought this highly unlikely. He also was skeptical of the ability of property tax revenue to cover the cost if tolls fell short. The boom in real estate values promised by “northern interests” involved with developing the beach was still in the offing and Poole was concerned that the alternative, a rise in property tax rates, would discourage prospective buyers. Poole wrote that, “as has been demonstrated in Florida and in Western North Carolina, booms often fall thru [sic] with dire results for everybody who cannot get out from under. We don’t want that to happen to us.” Instead of relying on developments that were yet to happen, Poole proposed the county take over the Point Harbor-Roanoke Island ferry and run it as a public service, to assure a sufficient flow of mainland automobiles to cover the cost of the bridge. “Since Currituck has postponed any action toward building a bridge across Currituck Sound,” he concluded, “we can bring no cars in from that direction, and our only chance is to provide adequate ferry service to the island...”³⁹

As winter turned to spring, the state legislature authorized Dare County to issue bonds to finance the bridging of Roanoke Sound, and the County Commissioners signed a contract with a bond dealer to issue and market the bonds. Frank Stick began a public relations campaign to promote the oceanfront development called Virginia Dare Shores. He announced plans to build two hotels in Kitty Hawk and to turn Collington Island into an artist’s colony. Stick was joined by a salesman and promoter, Frank Winch, who had recently been employed in the south Florida real estate boom. Winch began making the rounds of civic organizations and Chambers of Commerce. Speaking of the riches that came to New Jersey and southern California with the advent of oceanfront development, Winch proclaimed that prosperity for the entire region was just around the corner. He also pointed out that visitors to the beaches of Dare County must come through the Albemarle counties, buying food and gas along the way and that the workers and building supplies to create the tourist industry would come from the mainland. Every week, at least one

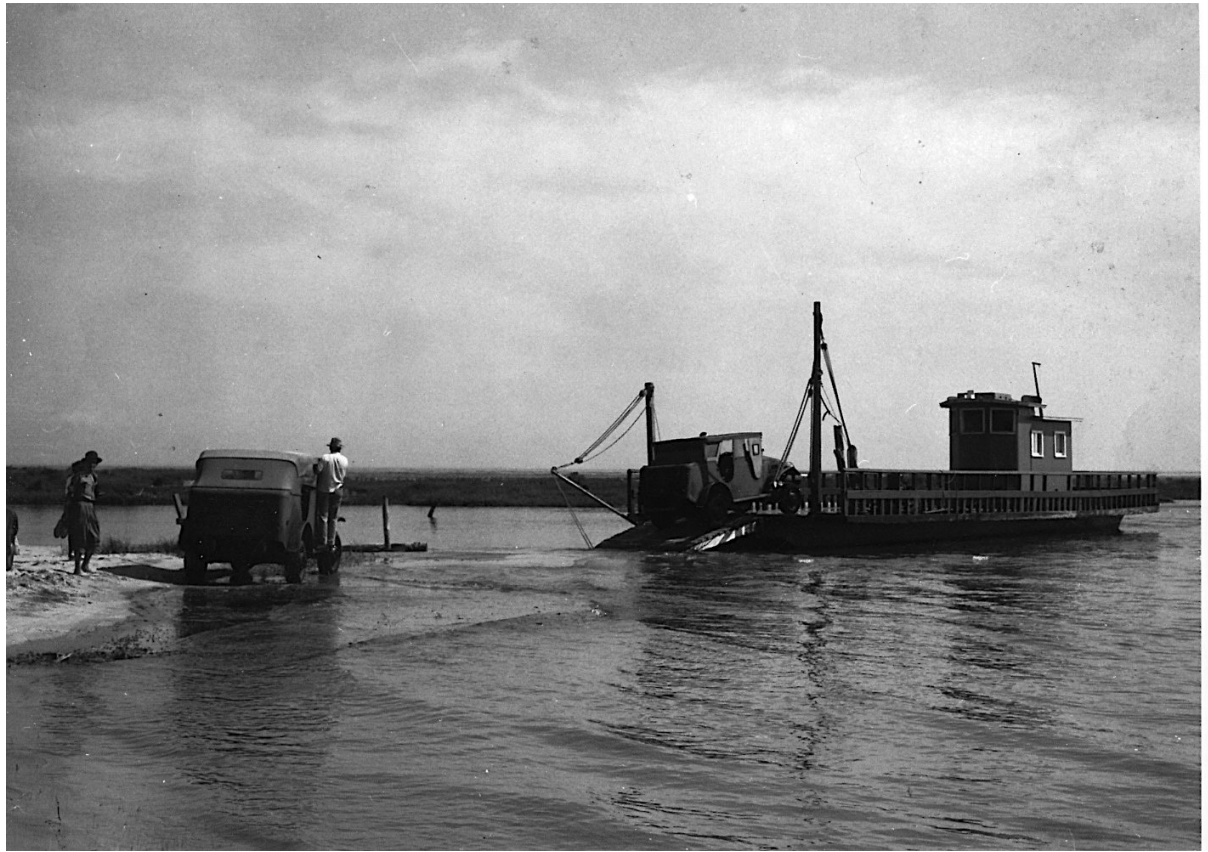
such meeting was breathlessly reported in the pages of Elizabeth City’s newspapers. Amid this campaign, W. O. Saunders reassured the *Independent’s* readers, “...the fellows who are behind the great real estate developments underway along our coast are not mere speculators, boomsters, and fly-by-nighters. They are the type of men North Carolina can afford to welcome and encourage...”⁴⁰

Desiring a connection between their county seats as had been mandated by the 1921 Highway Act, in April the Commissioners of Tyrell and Dare counties petitioned the Highway Commission to build a highway between Columbia and Manteo, thirty miles through the swamps and marshes that surrounded the Alligator River. In reporting on this petition, Saunders deployed an argument that was to become familiar. Great developments were under way on the coast. “North Carolina is going to demand this route to the coast, to the cradle of American history, and to the salt ocean waters. For all North Carolina today is on wheels, and wrung up to go somewhere, especially somewhere it hasn’t been before.”⁴¹

In May of 1927, the contract to build the bridge between Nags Head and Manteo was awarded to the W. L. Jones Construction Co. of Elizabeth City. Including the already built causeway, the total cost was \$135,000. Wash Baum and the Dare County Commissioners believed this would leave sufficient funds from the \$300,000 bond issue to fund a jointly built bridge between Currituck and Dare Counties. The editors of the *Elizabeth City Daily Advance* pointed out that the added cost of bulkheads to stabilize the sand causeways would likely consume most of the money that Dare County was authorized to raise. The day after the contract was announced, the importance of bridge building was highlighted when the ferryboat that carried cars and people between Point Harbor and Roanoke Island burned to the waterline. Once again, communications with Roanoke Island were disrupted due to problems with ferries.⁴²

Then the group of Elizabeth City businessmen who had purchased 5500 acres at Martin’s Point north of Kitty Hawk stepped out of anonymity and discussed their plans with a reporter from the *Daily Advance*. W. G. Gaither, Vice-President of the First & Citizen’s National Bank of Elizabeth City, and his partners Carl Blades and S. B. Parker, had already surveyed roads and planned a golf course. They had great faith in their prospects and spoke of the interest in Dare County that was certain to arise around the country after Currituck Sound was bridged. Foreshadowing events soon to occur, Gaither went on to say, “that bridge will be built, perhaps sooner than some anticipate, if

Figure 4. In the 1920s, ferries such as this carried vehicles between the mainland, Kitty Hawk, Nags Head and Roanoke Island. Similar vessels were operated across Oregon Inlet (Photo courtesy of Outer Banks History Center, D. Victor Meekins Collection).



not by the counties concerned, then by private interests with the consent and approval of the two counties...I understand that overtures have already been made by private investors who have become very much interested...”⁴³

In the closing days of May, Frank Stick and Frank Winch made a dramatic announcement: the headlines spread across the entire front page of the *Daily Advance* read: “STATE’S COAST COMES INTO ITS OWN; Huge Resort Project of Virginia Dare Shores Is Rapidly Taking Form.” The Carolina Development Company, owner of the resort, reportedly owned or had options on 31,000 acres of Dare County beach land. The first two-hundred-and-fifty acres, just north of Kill Devil Hills, was already under development. According to the company announcement, lots had been surveyed, contracts for streetlights and electrical systems had been signed and piers, ferry landings and pavilions were under construction. Casinos and boardwalks were in the planning stages.

Meetings with the Elizabeth City Chamber of Commerce followed. Stick and Winch proclaimed that the development of Dare County’s beaches would be the engine that propelled the Albemarle region to unimagined heights of prosperity. Speaking from his own experience, Stick talked of the New Jersey seashore, lined with thriving cities whose properties were worth millions, where beach lands had sold for two dollars an acre forty years before. A map of the streets of Virginia Dare Shores was published on two full pages of

the *Daily Advance*. Shore Properties, the sales affiliate of the Carolina Development Company, reported that it had sold \$100,000 worth of lots on its first day (examination of the Dare County Registry of Deeds for the period reveals that, other than the \$100,000 worth of property sold on opening day, there were no sales at all). W. O. Saunders added his voice to the promotion before a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce. An open house was held at the Virginia Dare Shores property in June. A flotilla of free ferries ran between Kitty Hawk and Point Harbor, and lunch was provided at the company’s pavilion on Kitty Hawk Bay. Elizabeth City businesses bought advertisements highlighting their connection with Virginia Dare Shores. “Everything New But the Ocean,” proclaimed the advertisement of the event. The open house went off without a hitch and attracted a thousand people to the beaches of Dare County. Many visitors walked the half-mile to see Kill Devil Hills for the first time.⁴⁴

In contrast to the year before, Virginia Dare Day 1927 was a low-key, local affair. Local speakers addressed an audience of hundreds. Mabel Evans, Superintendent of Dare County Schools, organized costumed residents to reenact the baptism of Manteo and Virginia Dare. This started the tradition of dramatic celebration of Virginia Dare’s birthday. Local feathers were ruffled when Frank Winch and Frank Stick decided to hold an open house at Virginia Dare Shores on August 18, giving the Fort Raleigh commemoration competition for public and press attention.

Despite all the positive attention, Virginia Dare Shores began to unravel. In frustration, Winch criticized the lack of local interest in buying beachfront property. Certainly, lack of direct automobile access to the area contributed to the public's cool reception, and the south Florida meltdown was a recent memory that put off some potential buyers, but there was more to it than that. In the *Independent*, W. O. Saunders noted, "the trouble with the present attempted development of a section of our coast at Kitty Hawk is that there is as yet no development to speak of. The splendid group of fellows who have invested their capital in many thousands of acres of our beach lands seem to have sunk all their capital in lands, leaving nothing to invest in significant improvements."⁴⁵

After the open house, Allen Hueth wrote to Winch to criticize the decision to open a sales office in Elizabeth City. Hueth remarked that, "your company, Shore Properties, has had a great deal of money advanced, which we believe could have been spent to much better advantage elsewhere. Mr. Geran, Mr. Stick and myself went very thoroughly into the matter of opening offices in the North, and we are agreed that it is the logical move."⁴⁶ Ignoring his own involvement in the publicity campaign, Frank Stick weighed in, asserting, "...you know how shocked we were over all the extravagant claims made in your publicity matter. It was all too much like the florida [*sic*] bunco game, to put it candidly, and we value our reputations and our friendships in North Carolina too much to go on with an un-clean proposition."⁴⁷

Winch defended himself by reminding his employers that they had discussed and agreed to the entire sales campaign. A sales office was opened in Elizabeth City to, "fire the sectional imagination with the necessity of a bridge and quick transportation to the coastal properties... This is what we came here for, this is what we have accomplished."⁴⁸

While this drama was unfolding in Elizabeth City, in Dare County work was completed on the approaches to the Roanoke Sound Bridge. Theodore Meekins claimed an entry on the hundred feet of land of either side of the causeway, and later advertised lots for sale along the new highway with, "a beach in every back yard." The State Highway Commission surveyed potential routes for a Nags Head to Kitty Hawk highway, and the Norfolk to Cape Lookout highway proposal was back in the news. In early August, the Kill Devil Hills Memorial Association was formed at a meeting called by the Elizabeth City Chamber of Commerce to promote government construction of a First Flight memorial and road access to the area. In a display of automotive endurance, D. T.

Roughton of Old Fort, North Carolina, drove six hundred miles from Morehead City to Murphy along State Highway 10 in sixteen hours, the first person to travel the full breadth of the state in a single day.⁴⁹

After waiting months to be paid for print jobs done for Shore Properties, Saunders fired a broadside at Virginia Dare Shores from the front page of the *Independent*: "The Truth About Virginia Dare Shores" ran the headline. According to Saunders' account, the source of which is unidentified, Elmer Geran and Allen Hueth bought Dare County property as a long-term investment. They had no intention to subdivide the property and sell lots, but they were in New Jersey. Frank Stick and Frank Winch, on the ground in North Carolina, "dreamed great dreams and convinced themselves they were real."⁵⁰ Development of Virginia Dare Shores was to be financed with money from the sale of property. When sales didn't happen, and businesses called for payment of debts, the deal unraveled, leaving a pile of uncollectible bills. However, being an unwavering booster of the Albemarle region, Saunders was undaunted. "The Asbury Park men are going to work their way out of the mess they are in and come thru [*sic*] in good shape after having taken a lot of punishment for their bungling... Profiting by their mistakes they will hardly be satisfied until they have redeemed a lot of foolishly made promises. And Elizabeth City will cheer them in their come back."⁵¹

The bridge over Roanoke Sound was finished by mid-December 1927 and was an immediate success. Five hundred cars crossed the structure in the first ten days, greatly exceeding expectations. Critics of the project, however, were proven correct when, with nothing to hold it in place, the causeway sand began to disperse into the sound. County officials asked the Highway Commission to put down an oil and gravel surface on the road to keep the sand in place, which the commission agreed to do.⁵²

In a letter to W. O. Saunders, Congressman Warren laid out his view of what needed to happen next. "A bridge connecting Currituck and Dare has passed from the realm of impossibility. It is now a necessity and is in furtherance of the movement to bring the state highway system to all the people of the state. It should be constructed out of district, state and federal highway funds."⁵³

Despite the recognition of the state's responsibility for connecting Manteo with the rest of the state, money for the necessary roads and bridges was hard to come by. To fill this gap, the group of Elizabeth City businessmen who had earlier talked with the *Daily Advance*

about their plans to develop Martin's Point incorporated the Currituck and Dare Bridge Company. They intended to raise private capital, bridge Currituck Sound, and develop their beachfront property.⁵⁴

To that end, they received permission from the Currituck County Commissioners (called a franchise) to build a bridge across the inland waters controlled by the county. The franchise resolution specified a toll bridge, "...from a point in the county lying between Hog Quarter on the north and Point Harbor on the south to the North banks or Kitty Hawk in the County of Dare, the exact location of toll bridge to be later determined upon the recommendation of competent engineers."⁵⁵ While the Currituck and Dare Bridge Company made plans to issue bonds to raise funds, W. O. Saunders, as president of the Kill Devil Hills Memorial Association, continued to pressure the State Highway Commission to take on the challenge of bridging the final barrier to direct automobile access to Dare County.⁵⁶

To determine whether the proposed bridge would disrupt navigation, the Army Corps of Engineers held a meeting in Manteo to gather public input; one hundred people voiced their objections. Residents of Point Harbor opposed the company's plan to build a mile north of the point, to run directly east to Martin's Point. They had gotten used to selling food and drink to travelers waiting for the ferry and were upset by the plan to bypass their settlement. Hunters objected to the idea of building a bridge through the finest duck hunting area on Currituck Sound, and residents of Kitty Hawk felt they would be poorly served by a bridge well north of the village. The Highway Commission also objected to being left with a mile of dead-end road to maintain. Despite these objections, the Corps of Engineers found that no obstruction to navigation would exist and began the process of issuing a permit to the Currituck and Dare Bridge Company.⁵⁷

A complication arose when R. Bruce Etheridge, a former state representative and cashier at the Manteo Bank, and H. C. Lawrence, the contractor who built the Roanoke Sound causeway, received a franchise from Dare County to build a toll bridge across Currituck Sound from Dare County, "to a point opposite or near Point Harbor."⁵⁸ Despite the specificity of the franchise resolution, Etheridge and Lawrence told the *Independent* that they supported any effort to put a bridge across Currituck Sound at any place and wouldn't use their franchise to hold up any efforts.⁵⁹

as Winch filed suit against the company for breach of contract. Frank Stick, Allen Hueth and Elmer Geran were also named as defendants in the suit which sought \$35,000 in damages and back pay. When the Pasquotank County Sheriff attempted to serve the defendants a summons, he found them not to reside in North Carolina. The suit was eventually dropped in 1934 when Winch failed to appear for a court date.⁶⁰

Later in the spring of 1928, the Currituck County Commissioners gave a franchise to build a bridge from Point Harbor to Kitty Hawk to the Kitty Hawk Bridge Company. The Commissioners held a meeting to consider the new company's proposal which was attended by a large contingent of county residents. They expressed strong support for the southern route advocated by the new company. In resolving to grant the Kitty Hawk Bridge Company a franchise, commissioners spoke of, "the great need of a bridge from the lower end of the mainland of Currituck County to the beach lands of Dare County."⁶¹ However, they stated explicitly that this franchise did not invalidate or modify the franchise previously granted to the Currituck and Dare Company.

There was something strange about this new bridge company. S. B. Parker, one of the Currituck and Dare Bridge Company shareholders, also took part in the incorporation of the new company. Its incorporation papers were filed five months after the company received its franchise from the County Commissioners. When W. O. Saunders interviewed Nate Parker, the Elizabeth City man who represented the Kitty Hawk Bridge Company before the commissioners, he was told that the company had no financial backers and no plans to issue bonds to raise funds.⁶²

While the Currituck and Dare Bridge Company took steps to get its bridge project started, the First Flight Memorial began to get off the ground. Under the direction of Congressman Warren, Congress appropriated \$25,000 to finance the design of a Wright brothers memorial. Design proposals were solicited from architects around the country, and a commission composed of the Secretaries of Commerce, War and the Navy was set up to judge the designs in collaboration with the Commission of Fine Arts of the Library of Congress. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover created a controversy when he went public with his preference of a design that combined a Coast Guard station with a lighthouse. As President of the Kill Devil Hills Memorial Association, W. O. Saunders criticized this suggestion, stating that the attempt to commemorate one of the greatest feats in human history is "something more than an opportunity to just build another

Coast Guard station.”⁶³ The Commission on Fine Arts agreed. The debate dragged on through the summer, delaying action on a federal memorial. After much debate, a design was agreed to and plans were made to lay the cornerstone of the monument on December 17, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first flight. With this announcement came Virginia Dare Shores and Carolina Shores donation of land for the monument.

The people of Kitty Hawk erected their own monument at the site of the assembly of the Wright’s experimental glider in 1900. It was dedicated on May 2. Caravans left from Elizabeth City to Point Harbor for the half-hour ferry ride to Kitty Hawk. An Army dirigible flew down from Norfolk for the occasion and circled Kill Devil Hills. People gathered under the pines to listen to Captain Tate’s reminiscences (Tate had provided lodging to the Wright brothers on their visits to Dare County). Reverend Betts of the Kitty Hawk Methodist Church made the closing prayer after commending the people of Kitty Hawk for erecting a fine monument, calling it “an attraction to visitors from far and wide who will come to our village by air and by land.”⁶⁴

As summer progressed, the *Independent* put local developments in a broader context. Around the nation, the paper noted, the growth of the numbers of visitors to national parks and forests “proves that road building is no longer chiefly a local problem but a state and national one.”⁶⁵ Forty million travelers were expected to spend three-and-a-half billion dollars on travel that year. Victor Meekins moved back to Manteo and was elected sheriff. As Dare County correspondent for the *Independent*, he wrote of the adventure of beach driving, among other things, telling newcomers, “...along the surf when the water is low, is usually found a wonderful highway. The tide makes out for some six hours and comes back in for another six.... There is good ferry service operating between Roanoke Island and Point Harbor, and Kitty Hawk and Point Harbor. A bridge connects Roanoke and Nags Head while a ferry operated across Oregon Inlet until five o’clock in the afternoon.”⁶⁶ He also noted the changes underway on the beach:

“Life in Dare County isn’t what it used to be. Our folks used to have very few wants to satisfy and they didn’t require much money. But the mail order catalogues and the color advertising in the magazines has changed things in Dare County. Today everybody is wanting things.

They want automobile, faster motor boats, telephones, radios, bigger and better churches.... In order to satisfy their modern wants Dare County folks are working the year round now. Just like other folks, they have become slaves to their newly acquired mania for owning things.”⁶⁷

The Point Harbor ferries carried a rising tide of visitors to the beaches of Dare County. In previous years, the summer season had been a slack time for the Coast Guard, with few shipwrecks to attend to, but the summer of 1928 was different. Sixty-four automobile rescues were affected in the first half of the year. Despite Meekins’ advice, in the following month, the *Independent* reported fifteen more incidents. “Recently, an Elizabeth City boy tried to cross the ocean on a motorcycle but quick action on the part of the Coast Guard kept him from losing his life and also his vehicle. In another case some boys were making about forty miles an hour down the beach when they were surprised to see a curve in front of them. They only turned part of the curve and found themselves in Oregon Inlet.”⁶⁸

Virginia Dare Day, 1928, was a reprise of 1927’s. Mabel Evans again organized a costumed reenactment of the long-ago events. Once again, Virginia Dare Shores provided the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association with competition for the public’s attention. The highlight of activities in Kitty Hawk that day was, “a demonstration of surfboard riding by Willie Kaiama, a member of a troupe of native Hawaiians now at the shores.”⁶⁹

Like the Carolina Development Corporation before it, the Currituck and Dare Bridge Corporation announced its plans for a seaside resort in the pages of Elizabeth City’s newspapers. In reporting their plans for a hotel, dance hall, restaurant and refreshment stands, the *Independent* noted that a similar resort had recently opened on the beach opposite Morehead City, North Carolina. Atlantic Beach, as the resort was known, was doing a booming business after a month in operation. Unlike Dare County, however, a bridge across Bogue Sound was already built, and Morehead City had railroad service directly to it. Nevertheless, the success of Carteret County’s resort demonstrated the public’s growing interest in seaside recreation.⁷⁰

Through the summer and into the fall, attempts of the Currituck and Dare Company to raise funds were unsuccessful, in large part because

difficult travel conditions into Currituck and Dare Counties made investors hesitate. While state paving crews slowly worked toward Point Harbor, the Currituck and Dare Company hired a local firm, W. L. Jones Construction, to test the bottom of the sound to see how deep pilings would have to go to support the weight of the bridge. Without investors, they were unable to go further.⁷¹

As 1928 came to an end, work was done to clear a roadway from the proposed terminus of the bridge to the beach, while advertisements for Kitty Hawk Beach, as the bridge company's development was known, ran in Elizabeth City newspapers. "There Are Only So Many Miles of Ocean Front," they proclaimed. Contact was made with real estate agents across the state and contracts were signed. It was reported that, "the coming of the North Carolina coast development is being hailed with enthusiasm." T. S. Meekins announced Roanoke Beaches, the development he set out on the land he entered along the Roanoke Sound causeway. "Surrounded by Water. Where There Is Always a Breeze. And a Hard Surface Road by Your Door;" the advertisement ran.⁷²

The laying of the cornerstone of the First Flight memorial at the top of Kill Devil Hill on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wright Brothers' conquest of the air, December 17, 1928, brought dignitaries from around the world to that still-isolated sand dune. The official party included Orville Wright, Senators and members of Congress, delegates to the International Civil Aeronautics Conference (held in Washington D.C. the previous week), as well as representatives of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (the precursor to NASA). They were met at the state line by North Carolina Governor MacLean and W. O. Saunders, who represented the Kill Devil Hills Memorial Association. The bus they traveled in got into trouble when it came to a stretch of highway under construction; the dirt road was impassable for such a heavy vehicle. With frantic phone calls from the Currituck Courthouse, Saunders organized a convoy of local cars to transport the delegation to the ferries waiting at Point Harbor.⁷³

Arriving at Kitty Hawk, the first stop was Virginia Dare Shores, where the Kill Devil Hills Memorial Association provided a barbecue and turkey dinner for its guests. From the top of Kill Devil Hill, Governor MacLean and Congressman Warren addressed the crowd gathered on the sands before them. They spoke of Raleigh's voyages to Roanoke and the first flight of a heavier-than-aircraft as the most consequential achievements of Anglo-American civilization as well as a splendid example of the

pioneering spirit at that culture's heart. Saunders spoke of the difficulties experienced during the trip to Kitty Hawk stating, "if this place has been reached by some of you with great difficulty this day, let me say to you that it is for this reason primarily that the association which I have the honor to represent was conceived and initiated-- that the Congressional Memorial to the Wright Brothers and other monuments to be erected on these famous shores shall be made accessible to all Americans."⁷⁴

In February of 1929, the bridge funding impasse was broken when C. W. Harrison, representing a syndicate of New York City investors, pledged to fund the bridge and to develop the Martin's Point property. He, along with some of the Currituck and Dare Bridge Company stockholders and other investors from the Albemarle region, formed a new company, called the Kitty Hawk Company. This company took over the franchise of the Currituck and Dare Company and took an option to buy the Martin's Point land. At the same time, Harrison formed Harrison & Gilbert, Inc. as the sole authorized sales agent for the resort, called Kitty Hawk Beach (his partner, O. F. Gilbert, owned a successful women's clothing store in Elizabeth City). A veteran salesman from the Coral Gables, Florida boom was hired to spearhead the effort.⁷⁵

While Harrison told the *Daily Advance* he expected no special treatment from the Highway Commission, he also said that he could sell no bonds without assurance from state officials that the Kitty Hawk-Nags Head highway would be built along the oceanfront and connect with the bridge approaches. Once again, controversy swirled around public discussions of the Currituck Sound bridge. In a letter to the *Independent*, D. V. Meekins complained that local residents had been ignored in the deliberations regarding the route of the coast highway. The people of Kitty Hawk needed a paved, sound-side road that connected residences with the post office, general store, the village church, and public school. "There is a feeling abroad," he declared, "that this road has been fought off by interests in Elizabeth City who seek a road to their own personal advantage regardless of the rights of others."⁷⁶ He also pointed out that the maintenance of a sound side road would be less expensive, as a beach road would be more susceptible to storm damage. The Dare County Commissioners later echoed these concerns, stating that the road connecting the Roanoke and Currituck Sound bridges should be paved along the sound side, "...as the road would serve the traveling public to just as great advantage through the village as it would on the beach and better serve the people."⁷⁷

A harbinger of things to come, in July, twenty-three Florida banks, weakened by their involvement in the state's real estate bubble, closed their doors, and \$29 million dollars of deposits disappeared in the process. This news made it to the front page of the *Daily Advance*. The Kitty Hawk Company contracted with the W. L. Jones Construction Company of Elizabeth City to build the long-heralded Currituck Sound bridge, and a pair of pile drivers began to work their way across the sound shortly thereafter. Without comment, the western end of the bridge was moved to Point Harbor, and the eastern end was moved south of its original location, a mile closer to Kitty Hawk village. Engineers working on the project predicted that only bad weather would prevent the bridge from being finished in six months.⁷⁸

In the following weeks, both Elizabeth City newspapers reported on the rapid progress as the line of pilings began to stretch across the waters. Local businesses took out advertisements, proclaiming their faith in Kitty Hawk Beach and the great prospects for the future. The Norfolk & Carolina Telephone and Telegraph Company announced plans to connect Dare County to the mainland with a phone line across the bridge once it was completed.

Just when the future looked bright for Dare County, work on the Currituck bridge was halted because of lack of funds. Harrison declared that complications in the transfer of the Martin's Point property made bond sales impossible and

should be cleared up shortly. Resumption of the work was announced, then denied.⁷⁹

Even after the title transfer was completed in early fall, the pile drivers remained silent. Mr. Harrison went to New York to consult with his partners, leaving behind a slew of unpaid bills. Rumor drifted south that the Harrison syndicate had fallen apart. When he went to New York to investigate, Saunders found the syndicate Harrison had talked about didn't exist. The brokerage firm he claimed to be a part of had merely lent Harrison an office. Up to that point, construction of the bridge had been financed with personal loans to Mr. Harrison. The Kitty Hawk Company turned out to be another over-sold victim of Roaring Twenties bravado. Blades and Gaither began a mad scramble to find buyers for their bonds. "The bridge will be built," said Mr. Gaither, "...we have proceeded too far to halt now."⁸⁰

The Harvard economist John K. Galbraith later described the stock market in the fall of 1929:

"Confidence did not disintegrate all at once. Through September and into October, although the trend of the market was generally down, good days came with the bad. Volume [of stock sales] was high. On the New York Stock Exchange, sales were nearly always above four



Figure 5. Employees of the W. L. Jones Construction Company take a break from laying the deck of the Wright Memorial Bridge (Photo courtesy of The Outer Banks History Center, Ben Dixon MacNeil Collection).

million, and frequently above five [million shares a day]. In September new issues appeared in even greater volume than in August, and they regularly commanded a premium over the offering price.... This showed that speculative zeal had not diminished.”⁸¹

This changed in October when the headline, “Wall Street Has Darkest Day in Years But Panic Appears to be Checked,” appeared on the front page of the *Daily Advance* on October 24. Shock and then panic swept the country. As the extent of the disaster became obvious, people lined up to withdraw their savings from banks, creating first a trickle and then a torrent of bank failures that went on for more than three years. North Carolina’s senior Senator, Furnifold Simmons, along with hundreds of others, lost all his savings in the closure of the First National Bank of New Berne.⁸²

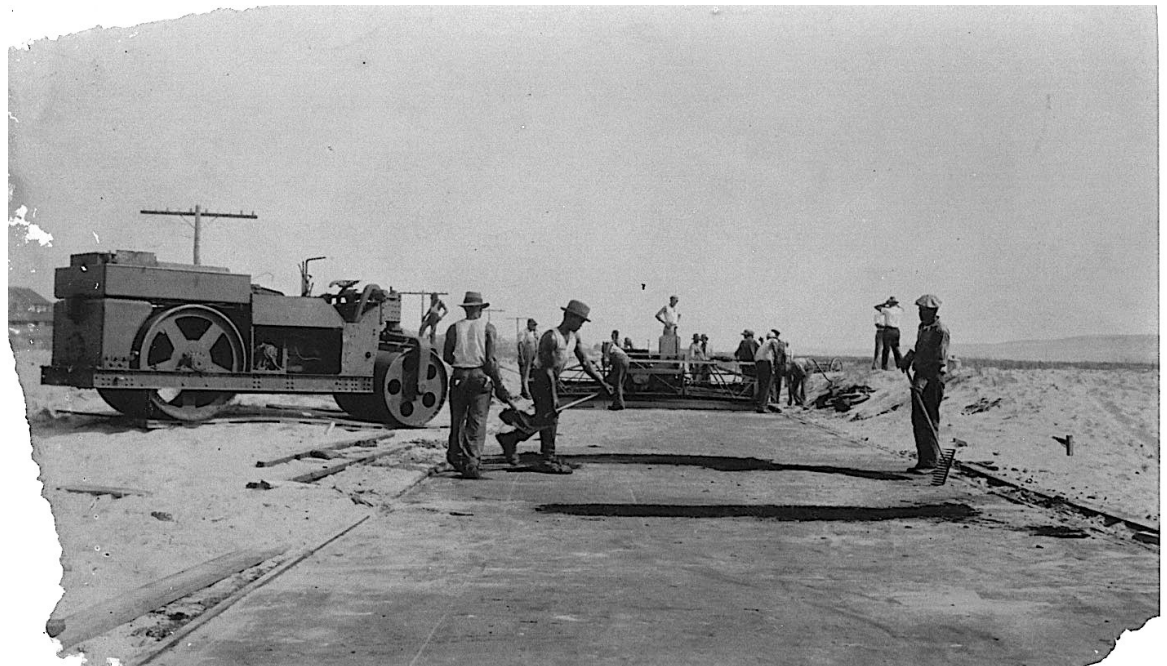
In this environment, Gaither and Blades found it difficult to find buyers for their bridge bonds. Groups of investors, the first from Richmond, another from Baltimore, expressed interest in taking over from Mr. Harrison, then backed out. There was talk that the Kitty Hawk Company would declare bankruptcy. During this high finance, agents of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture gathered in Raleigh to discuss the rising number of deaths caused by malnutrition and hunger-related diseases in North Carolina.⁸³

As winter turned to spring, state construction crews began paving the beach highway, working north from Nags Head. The Neptune Bus Line began a daily, 130-mile round trip from the Cavalier Hotel in Virginia Beach along the sound shore and down the beach to Kitty Hawk. After a hiatus of six months, July Day, a New York City stockbroker and owner of the Goosewing (hunting) Club on Bodie Island, loaned the W. L. Jones Construction Company five thousand dollars so that work on the bridge could resume. Three months later, The Wright Memorial Bridge Company was organized and bought the holdings of the Kitty Hawk Company in a bankruptcy sale. Gaither and Blades remained involved in the project, and W. L. Jones was included as a major stockholder in the new company. Work on the bridge continued through the summer.⁸⁴

Without much fanfare, on September 27, 1930, the Wright Memorial Bridge over Currituck Sound was finished. A cavalcade of cars filled with company officials, Jones Company engineers, and local personages crossed the bridge from Point Harbor. Because the paving of the beach highway was still underway, on reaching Kitty Hawk, the procession turned around and headed back. On the mainland, a fish fry was organized to celebrate the occasion. With that event, Dare County’s isolation officially came to an end.⁸⁵

In the months following the completion of the Wright Memorial Bridge, a building boom took place on the beaches of Dare County. The paving of the beach highway was completed, and the highway between Edenton and Manteo became known as the Virginia Dare Trail. Dance halls were built that brought big bands

Figure 6.. In the spring of 1930, state constructions crews began paving the beach highway north from Nags Head (Photo courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center, Meekins Collection).



from the cities on the weekends. Restaurants, and cottages were built, and lights were strung up along the beach, run with private generators. A bowling alley opened in Nags Head with used equipment brought in from Elizabeth City, and a casino with slot machines went up in Kitty Hawk. The Wright Memorial Bridge Company's development, Kitty Hawk Beach, was mapped out and W. L. Jones built a bath house and dance hall there. On opening night, revelers danced until four in the morning. Across the highway, Nell Jones and Bill Perry's sandwich shop stayed open the entire time, selling sandwiches at a tremendous rate. "Business was good, just too good," said Miss Jones. "I fear that if this keeps up, I will never be able to look a sandwich in the face again."⁸⁶ At the east end of the bridge, Louis Thornton opened the Wild Duck Inn, a restaurant, filling station and campground in the pines. R. Bruce Etheridge began the Virginia Dare Transportation Company, which operated daily bus service between Manteo and Elizabeth City.⁸⁷

Construction of the Wright Memorial atop Kill Devil Hill began under the direction of the Army Quartermaster Corp in February 1931. The sand dune was stabilized with grass plantings, the first large-scale dune stabilization project on the Outer Banks. The foundation was driven thirty-five feet into the hill, and masons began assembling the 1,962 tons of Mount Airy granite. The stones, weighing six to nine tons apiece, were carried by rail to Elizabeth City, then loaded onto barges for the trip to a specially built pier at the monument site. Once ashore, a narrow gage railroad carried the stones to Kill Devil Hill. The worksite quickly became a magnet for curious tourists.⁸⁸

Charles Jenkins, Henry Hargraves and John Henry Bias, well-to-do African Americans from Elizabeth City, acquired eighty acres four miles beyond the pavement north of Kitty Hawk Beach, and began to develop a beach resort for Black tourists. Hargraves was the owner of an Elizabeth City barbershop, and Bias was President of the Elizabeth City Normal School (now Elizabeth City State University). The property, known as Hargraves Beach, stretched from sea to sound. By late summer, Hargraves Beach included a 650-foot



All Kitty Hawk Beach Lots to be Advanced \$50 to \$100, Effective August 1, 1931

Select ocean front lots that you can buy to-day for \$250 to \$300 will be advanced \$50 to \$100 a lot on August 1st. Do not postpone the selection and purchase of your lot if you would be one of the most fortunate investors. This opportunity will never come again.

And remember that these lots extend from the State Highway to the deep water line—nothing can come between your back door and the highway; nothing can come between your front door and the ocean. In most beach subdivisions you will have to buy two lots to get on both the State Highway and the ocean, and then you will have a street between your two lots. Kitty Hawk Beach is your best buy and now is the best time to buy.

Wright Memorial Bridge Co.

OWNER OF KITTY HAWK BEACH

L. C. BLADES, Pres.

W. L. JONES, V. P. and Sup.

ADDRESS INQUIRIES TO P. O. BOX 247, ELIZABETH CITY, N. C. TELEPHONE 431

M. P. CALLOP, V. P. and Sup. OR SEE

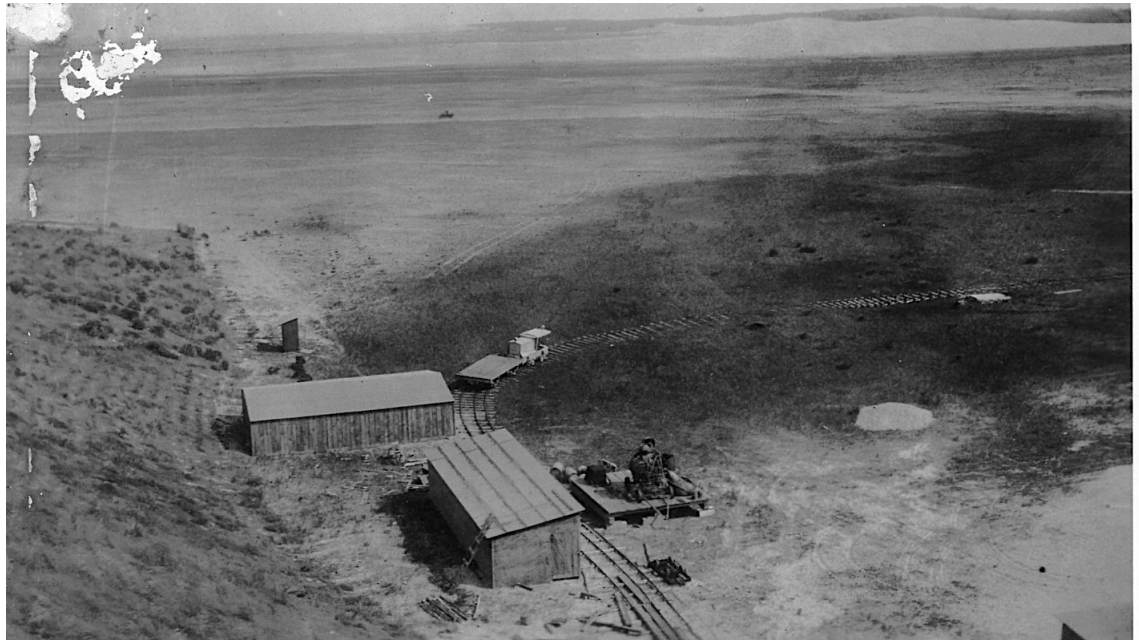
pier on the sound side connected to two bath houses, a dance hall and campground. For those not wanting to rough it, a fourteen-room boarding house was under construction.⁸⁹

At a time when white property owners in Nags Head petitioned the County Commissioners to prevent the opening of a dance hall for African Americans on the sound side of the village because such an enterprise, "would be detrimental to the peace and progress of the people of Nags Head;"⁹⁰ when Kitty Hawk Shores prohibited the presence of African Americans except as servants (through restrictive covenants tied to the titles for the land), Hargraves Beach was the only resort on the northern coast that was owned by and for African-Americans.

A closer connection with the mainland was not entirely positive, as people in Nags Head learned when a state Health Department inspector visited the beach for the first time. "The privy patrol" found that nearly all the outhouses in Nags Head were in violation of the health code. The threat of fines if repair

Figure 7. After completion of the bridge across Currituck Sound, the Wright Memorial Bridge Company advertised lots for sale. This advertisement is from the Elizabeth City Independent (Image courtesy of University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Wilson Library Historical Newspaper Collection).

Figure 8. In the winter of 1931, construction of the Wright Memorial on Kill Devil Hill began. The narrow gage railway pictured here carried the large stones of which the memorial was built from the dock on Kitty Hawk Bay to the construction site (Photo courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center, Meekins Collection).



and upgrades weren't made in a week led to cries of consternation among homeowners and renters, and frantic phone calls as property owners searched for carpenters to make the needed repairs.⁹¹

Another downside to the new dispensation became clear on the evening of July 4, when McKinley Johnson, walking home drunk along the highway, staggered in front of a car driven by Elizabeth City's Mayor Flora and was killed. In the preceding weeks, numerous pedestrians, unused to dealing with cars moving at highway speeds, had been injured by encounters along the new beach road. A front-page headline in the *Independent* asked, "Is Boulevard of Promise to Be a Black Ribbon of Death?"⁹²

For those not directly involved in the tourist boom, the worsening economy began to bite. The Dare County Commissioners were caught between plummeting property tax collection, an increase in the number of people on the poor roll, and a reluctance to put up for auction the homes of people who had been lifelong friends and neighbors. Partial payments were accepted, and balances were written off. Sheriff Meekins was repeatedly instructed to postpone auctions, if possible, to allow owners time to pay. Instead of adding people to the poor roll, the County Clerk was ordered to track down relatives who might be able to aid their needy relations.

Conditions were growing worse around the country as well. Unemployment continued to rise as factory closures, layoffs and bank bankruptcies rippled through the economy. President Hoover believed that support for the needy should remain the responsibility of

local governments and private charity. Many members of both parties disagreed, which led to heated debate on the floor of the Senate.⁹³

The national banking system also began to seriously fall apart in 1931. Weakened by their involvement in speculative real estate, bad management, and corruption, in 1930 there had been 1,345 bank closures nationwide, up from 642 the year before; in 1931, 2,298 banks went under. In North Carolina, withdrawal of deposits and bank closures removed over \$600 million from the state's economy between 1929 and 1933. During that time, one-hundred-ninety-four North Carolina banks failed.⁹⁴

The most notorious Tar Heel bank failure was that of the Central Bank and Trust Company of Asheville, which was heavily invested in land speculation in the Asheville vicinity. When the Florida real estate market collapsed in 1926, the Asheville market followed close behind, and the Central Bank and Trust found itself holding a large portfolio of worthless, toxic assets. Instead of making its weakened condition public by asking for more collateral for the bonds they held, bank officers kept the bank's condition secret, and used their political influence to convince Buncombe County and Asheville governments to deposit \$6 million in public funds in the bank. Although state law required that government deposits be fully secured by collateral, bank officials had friends in the state legislature grant Buncombe County banks an exception from that requirement. State bank examiners reported the bank insolvent in 1928, but the state corporation commission, the body that oversaw the state's banks, took no action.

Finally, on November 18, 1930, the Central Bank and Trust Could no longer hide its insolvency and closed. Eleven mountain banks which had deposits with them quickly followed suit. Deprived of operating funds and after losing its \$6 million deposit, Asheville was unable to pay its bond debt and, on the verge of declaring bankruptcy, drastically cut back services. The president of the bank and a former United States Senator from Tennessee went to prison for their involvement in shady real estate deals. Members of the Corporation Commission were indicted by a Buncombe County grand jury for malfeasance in office. That case went to the state's Supreme Court, which ruled that the commissioners could not be indicted in Buncombe County for a crime committed in Raleigh.⁹⁵

The collapse of the Central Bank and Trust Company challenged the legitimacy and stability of the entire state's banking system. With only one Elizabeth City bank – Gaither's First & Citizen's National Bank – still open, where did the money to build the Dare County tourist industry come from? Certainly, there were wealthy northerners like Jule Day, as well as rich residents of the Albemarle region, who had funds to invest in Dare County, but the scale and rapidity of the buildup suggests something else was going on.⁹⁶

With few roads, impenetrable swamps, miles of blackwater creeks and rivers, and isolated villages where inquisitive strangers stood out, mainland Dare County was a center of the illicit liquor trade during Prohibition. The area's transportation difficulties were in this way an asset. East Lake liquor was known up and down the east coast for its quality and

sold at a premium. Prohibition brought a very lucrative industry to an area that was lacking capital in the best of times. The problem was, what to do with the profits? The buildup of the Dare County tourist industry was a ready source of legitimate investment opportunity for these entrepreneurs.

Claude Duvall and Carson Creef moved to Manteo from mainland Dare County in 1931 and built the Hotel Fort Raleigh. Completed in August, the hotel cost \$70,000 and had toilets and running water in half of its forty rooms. In mid-September, Creef was arrested for Prohibition violations. When Creef's younger brother and business agent was also caught on liquor charges, ownership fell to Duvall. Though not proven, the implication is that the funds to build the Hotel Fort Raleigh came from Creef's moonshine operation. By their nature, such transactions were hidden, so there is no way to tell for certain how much of the Dare County development of the early 1930s was funded by moonshine profits, but some of it had to be.⁹⁷

While the distillers of moonshine may have been outlaws, to many coastal residents, they were hardly criminal. They were neighbors, family members, people who helped when you got in a bind. They were only filling a large, widespread demand. The distilling and smuggling of illicit liquor was viewed with ambivalence by many in the coastal communities, including many law enforcement officers. This ambivalence was on display when Sheriff Meekins raided the home of Jethro Midgett in Kitty Hawk and confiscated twenty-five gallons of whiskey. Meekins remarked that, "I have no doubt



Figure 9. Built in the winter of 1931 as part of the initial development of Dare County, the Wild Duck Inn included a restaurant, a filling station and a campground (Photo courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center).

that the whiskey found in Jethro Midgett's house were orders he had taken largely for the accommodation of some of the most prominent families on the beach, who own cottages there and entertain on a lavish scale. To my mind, they ought to pay his fine."⁹⁸

With highway access into the county and the increased interest in and awareness of Dare County's development, the Homecoming of 1931 promised to be a tremendous event. Coast Guardsmen, State Highway Patrol officers, as well as members of the Elizabeth City police department were on hand to deal with traffic. Three to five thousand people attended the celebration at the Fort Raleigh site, including both U.S. Senators, a pair of Congressmen, the President of the University of North Carolina, publishers of two of the state's largest newspapers, representatives of the governor's office, as well as candidates for various statewide offices.

While the turnout on August 18th was sizable, it was lower than anticipated. Saunders attributed the low attendance to the fact that few people would go out of their way to attend "a speech making tournament" because "popular education in the twentieth century, supplemented by the press, the radio and the cinema, have taught the masses how little the average public speaker has to say and how unimportant it is after he has said it."⁹⁹ Instead, he proposed to restore Fort Raleigh, build replicas of Raleigh's ships, import Cherokee people to inhabit an Indian village on the site, build an amphitheater, and employ a celebrated author to write a play re-enacting the life of Raleigh's colonists. Saunders wrote, "I would fabricate the fate of the Lost Colony and make that the subject of a pageant as heart-wringing as the passion of the crucified Christ."¹⁰⁰ This suggestion got an immediate positive response from the Norfolk and Dare County Chambers of Commerce. The Director of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, J. W. Harrelson, not only endorsed the idea, but also suggested Paul Green as the man to write the play.

A flurry of activity took place on the beach, outside of the view of local residents. New development companies began to appear in the registry of deeds. Nags Head Development Corporation and Bodie Island Realty started buying land. Charles Baker, Stick's collaborator on the land donation for the Wright Memorial, commenced the sale of lots in Carolina Shores, south and east of Kill Devil Hills. To increase the visibility of the development, Baker hired Dan Hayman as his sales agent in North Carolina. Hayman kept his employer in Asbury Park informed of the status of the Currituck Sound

bridge and the paving of the beach highway. Charles McIntire, an engineer from a Norfolk property management firm, was hired to survey lots and draw up maps of the proposed development.¹⁰¹

The limitations of long-distance management became apparent when Hayman didn't answer Baker's letters or telegrams and failed to follow through with sales prospects. This came to a head when a likely customer from Pennsylvania wrote to Baker asking about a lot he would like to purchase, "since then I have neither heard from him [Hayman] or you as he said that you would send the contract. However, the very day that I left he was in jail in Norfolk and perhaps he may still be there."¹⁰² A direct question to McIntire regarding what was going on brought an embarrassed response. After requesting confidentiality and professing a close friendship with Hayman, McIntire asserted that, "as regards his trouble, he and two others came to Norfolk one Saturday night, drank a little too much and were unable to handle the machine they were in, with the result that the next morning they appeared in Police Court here."¹⁰³

Frank Stick gave another glimpse into the state of Dare County real estate in his correspondence with Lillian Koerner, the wife of fellow artist and business partner William Koerner. The collapse of an Asbury Park bank led to difficulty in paying property taxes on Hatteras Island property the couples had bought in the name of the Avon Beach Company. Stick recommended that title of the property be transferred to the Hatteras Holding Company which he had set up for protection from personal liability. Speaking about the Avon Beach property, he wrote, "it was the first thing I went into down here, and I was green, and was taken in. I early in the game decided that the land below the [Oregon] Inlet had no future from a development standpoint, at least, not for years."¹⁰⁴

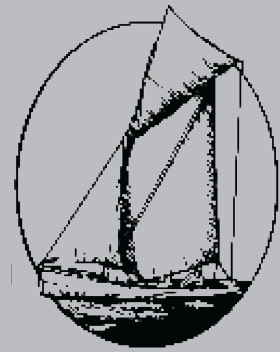
Stick complained of being abandoned by former associates, writing, "when liens and encumbrances, including Virginia Dare Shores taxes, have appeared I have been paying 'em off, without saying anything to any of my one-time enthusiastic associates... Had we not gone into it at the worst period from a development standpoint in twenty-five years, we would have made a big thing of it." In another letter, Stick pleaded with his friend that, "things look darned good down here, with the road and memorial coming along in great shape, and I am determined to hang on, and protect our interests. Please try to carry on with us Lillian, and I feel you will not regret it in the long run."¹⁰⁵

At the conclusion of 1931, a new way of life based on automobile tourism had established a toehold on the beaches of Dare County. The coming decade would bring bad weather as well as economic and political storms that would threaten to dislodge it; but in the end, Frank Stick's promises would be redeemed. The Outer Banks we know today is the result.

Endnotes

1. *Elizabeth City Independent*, January 1, 1926; January 8, 1926.
2. *Independent*, January 15, 1926.
3. *Independent*, January 7, 1927; Water quality in Currituck Sound deteriorated as polluted water from Norfolk harbor flowed down the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal and storms drove seawater across Currituck Bank. Eel grass beds, which were breeding grounds for many types of fish and food for migrating waterfowl, became scarcer. In response, ducks and geese migrated further inland where food was more available, and fisheries shrank.
4. *Ibid.*; *Elizabeth City Daily Advance*, August 25, 1926.
5. Paul S. George, "Brokers, Binders and Builders: Greater Miami's Boom of the Mid-1920s," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (July 1986): 46.
6. Quoted in *Independent*, April 9, 1926.
7. Dare County Record of Deeds, North Carolina State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.
8. *Independent*, June 4, 1926; July 2, 1926.
9. Allen Hueth to D. Victor Meekins, July 3, Sept. 8, 1926, PC 5126, D. Victor Meekins Papers, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N.C.; Frank Stick was a sportsman and artist. In the time before color photography, Stick worked as an illustrator of outdoor magazines and calendars. He became well-known for his role in the formation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. His son, David, was the first well-known historian of the Outer Banks and was instrumental in the formation of the Outer Banks History Center in Manteo.
10. Agreement between T. S. Meekins, Allen Hueth and Frank Stick, July 12, 1926, PC 5089, Frank Stick Papers and Artwork, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N.C.; hereafter, Frank Stick Papers.
11. Dare County Record of Deeds.
12. *Independent*, August 13, 1926.
13. *Independent*, June 25, 1926.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Robert E. Ireland, *Entering the Auto Age: The Early Automobile in North Carolina, 1900-1930* (Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Cultural Resources, 1990), 73-74; for the text of the law, see "The North Carolina State Road Law 1921," North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.
16. E. R. Johnson to L. Warren, March 5, 1926, Lindsay Warren Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.; hereafter, Warren Papers.
17. L. Warren to F. Page, January 21, 1926, Warren Papers.
18. *Independent*, July 30, 1926.
19. *Ibid.*, October 22 1926; *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 8, 1926.
20. William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).
21. The first English colony, the first white child born in the New World, the First Flight, the Coast Guard's long-standing tradition of heroism – these were the elements from which this past was created. This process was not merely an objective recitation of events, however, a fact demonstrated by what was left out of the account. In the years between the World Wars, when the involvement of Northern sportsmen and money men was crucial to the development of the Outer Banks, no mention was made of the pivotal Civil War battles that took place on Hatteras and Roanoke Islands.
22. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 91; *Independent*, August 13, 1926.
23. *Independent*, July 9, 1926; August 13, 1926.
24. *News and Observer*, August 19, 1926.
25. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1926.
26. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1926
27. *Ibid.*, March 11, 1926; Agreement between Joseph Morris, D.W. Hayman, Allen Hueth and Frank Stick, September 16, 1926, Frank Stick Papers.
28. Dare County Commissioners Minutes, October 5, 1926, North Carolina State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.; hereafter, Dare County Commissioners Minutes.
29. Dare County Commissioners Minutes, October 5, 1926.
30. *Independent*, October 8, 1926.
31. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1926.
32. Currituck County Commissioners Minutes, January 24, 1927, North Carolina State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.; hereafter, Currituck County Commissioners Minutes.
33. Currituck County Commissioners Minutes, Feb. 7, 1927.
34. *Ibid.*, Jan.31, 1927; Action wasn't taken because the State Highway Commission decided to use state funds to pave the road.
35. For instance, see "Duplin Veterans Annual Reunion," *News and Observer*, August 6, 1926.
36. *Independent*, October, 15, 1926; November 12, 1926.
37. Deed, W. O. Twiford to A. Hueth and F. Stick, November 10, 1926, Frank Stick Papers; Mortgage Bond, Carolina Shores Co. to Hueth and Stick, November 18, 1926, Frank Stick Papers.
38. Telegram, Stick to Warren, January 5, 1927, Warren Papers; *Independent*, January 14, 1927.
39. *Independent*, February 4, 1927.
40. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1927; February 18, 1927; April 29, 1927; *Daily Advance*, April 27, 1927.
41. *Independent*, April 8, 1927.
42. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1927; *Daily Advance*, May 14, 1927.
43. *Independent*, June 10, 1927.
44. *Daily Advance*, May 24, 1927; May 25, 1927; May 26, 1927; May 27, 1927; June 6, 1927; June 10, 1927; June 13, 1927; *Independent*, May 27, 1927.
45. *Independent*, August 5, 1927.
46. Allan Hueth to Frank Winch, July 2, 1927, Frank Stick Papers.
47. Frank Stick to Frank Winch, September 23, 1927, Frank Stick Papers.
48. Frank Stick to Winch, September 23, 1927, Frank Stick Papers; Winch to Hueth, August 31, 1927, Frank Stick Papers.

49. *Daily Advance*, November 12, 1927.
50. *Independent*, November 11, 1927.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Daily Advance*, January 4, 1928; *Independent*, January 6, 1928; January 27, 1928; March 30, 1928.
53. Warren to Saunders, July 21, 1927; reprinted in the *Independent*, July 29, 1927.
54. Currituck County Record of Incorporations and Partnerships, North Carolina State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.
55. Currituck County Commissioners, December 5, 1927.
56. *Daily Advance*, January 25, 1928; January 26, 1928.
57. *Ibid.*, February 8; April 20, 1928.
58. Dare County Commissioners, December 6, 1927.
59. *Independent*, May 4, 1928.
60. Pasquotank County Civil Action Papers, Case File # 7200, State Archive; *Daily Advance* Feb. 3, 1928,
61. *Daily Advance* Apr. 17, 1928; Currituck Co. Commissioners, Apr. 16, 1928
62. Pasquotank County Record of Incorporations and Partnerships, North Carolina State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.; *Daily Advance*, April 27, 1928; *Independent*, April 27, 1928.
63. *Independent*, February 10, 1928; February 24, 1928; March 2, 1928; November 2, 1928.
64. *Daily Advance*, April 19, 1928; May 2, 1928; May 3, 1928.
65. *Independent*, May 4, 1928.
66. *Independent*, May 11, 1928.
67. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1928.
68. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1928.
69. *Daily Advance*, August 18, 1928; Greensboro Daily News, August 17, 1928; Powell, Paradise Preserved, 123-126; For the history of surfing in North Carolina see John Hairr and Ben Wunderly Surfing NC: A Timeline of the History of the Sport of Surfing in North Carolina, North Carolina Maritime Museum Occasional Publications #1 (Beaufort, N.C.: North Carolina Maritime Museum, 2015), 27; I am indebted to Mr. Wunderly for bringing this material to my attention.
70. *Independent*, July 13, 1928.
71. *Daily Advance*, September 28, 1928; *Independent*, September 28, 1928; October 26, 1928.
72. *Independent*, June 21, 1929; July 12, 1929; *Daily Advance*, July 11, 1929.
73. *News and Observer*, December 18, 1928.
74. *The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the First Airplane Flight: Proceedings at the Exercises Held at Kitty hawk, N. C. on December 17, 1928 in Commemoration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the First Flight of an Airplane Made by Wilbur and Orville Wright* (Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1929).
75. *Independent*, February 22, 1929; May 31, 1929; Pasquotank County Record of Incorporations and Partnerships.
76. *Independent*, July 26, 1929.
77. Dare County Commissioners Minutes, April 8, 1930.
78. *Daily Advance*, July 13, 1929; July 17, 1929; August 13, 1929; *Independent*, July 26, 1929.
79. *Daily Advance*, September 16, 1929; *Independent*, September 20, 1929; September 27, 1929; October 11, 1929.
80. *Independent*, October 11, 1929; November 15, 1929.
81. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Great Crash*, 1929 (Boston, M.A.: Houghton Mifflin, 1955): 97.
82. *Daily Advance*, November 12, 1929.
83. *Daily Advance*, December 16, 1929; January 13, 1930.
84. *Independent*, February 28, 1930; April 4, 1930; May 2, 1930; July 4, 1930; Dare County Registry of Deeds; Pasquotank County Record of Incorporations and Partnerships.
85. *Daily Advance*, September 27, 1930.
86. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1931.
87. It took some time for the roar of the 1920s to fall silent. Like an avalanche careening down a mountain, economic devastation increased in mass and momentum as time went on. In 1931, some middle-class people still had money and weren't shy about spending it. Appropriations for government road building projects had lag time as well.
88. *Daily Advance*, February 4, 1931; February 5, 1931; *Independent*, February 6, 1931; April 17, 1931.
89. *Independent*, June 5, 1931; August 14, 1931; Jerome Bias, personal communication, Jan. 18, 2018; James Coffield, personal communications, Jan. 20, 2018; Bias Shores, previously a part of Hargraves Beach, is still owned by the Bias family.
90. Dare County Commissioners, June 2, 1936; The Commissioners complied with this request.
91. *Independent*, July 31, 1931.
92. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1931.
93. *Daily Advance*, February 3, 1931.
94. Broadus Mitchell, *From New Era through New Deal, 1929-1941, The Economic History of the United States*, vol. 9 (New York, N.Y.: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1947): 127-130; Susan Estabrook Kennedy, *The Banking Crisis of 1933* (Lexington, K.Y.: University of Kentucky Press, 1973).
95. John L. Bell, *Hard Times: Beginnings of the Great Depression in North Carolina, 1929-1933* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1982): 12-20; The web of fraud that brought down the Central Bank & Trust Company is described in John Berry McFerrin, *Caldwell & Company* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1939).
96. Then as now, bankers get very cautious after major economic downturns. While Dare County real estate was more valuable as collateral once the Wright Memorial Bridge was finished, it seems unlikely that local banks were anxious to become involved in what were still risky endeavors.
97. Brian Edwards, "A Brief History of Prohibition in Northeastern North Carolina," *Tributaries*.(October, 1999): 18.
98. *Independent*, July 25, 1930.
99. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1931.
100. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1931; September 4, 1931.
101. Charles Baker to Dan Hayman, January 23, 1930, Frank Stick Papers.
102. *Ibid.*
103. W. L. Gotwals to C. Baker, September 7, 1931, Charles McIntire to C. Baker, September 11, 1931, Frank Stick Papers.
104. The close relationship between the Stick and Koerner families is described in Michael Mordell, *Frank Stick: Splendid Painter of the Out-of-Doors* (Tuscon, A.Z.: Settlers West Galleries, 2004), 79-83.
105. Frank Stick to Lillian Koerner, January 1, 5, 23; February 12; April 2, November 8, 1931, Frank Stick Papers.



Tributaries

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Bath County Early Maritime Commerce, 1695-1739:

Credit and Lending in North Carolina's Second Oldest County

by Gillian Hookway-Jones

Abstract

This article features colonial credit and lending transactions transcribed in General and Higher-Court records 1695-1739 related to Bath County, North Carolina (ca. 1696-1739). Identified are means of maritime credit exchange, creditors and debtors, credit instruments, and terms when given. Credit records such as book debt and lawsuit evidence show merchants and borrowers in local, inter-colony, and foreign colonial commerce; named also are officials, sea captains, and consumers of differing socioeconomic status including tradesmen, women, American Indians, and the enslaved. Credit instruments identified include bonds, notes, bills of credit, bills of exchange, as well as debt collection efforts from court lawsuits and estate records. This retrospective study's goal is to shine light on accounting and lending norms from the county's brief four decades of existence. Creative use of credit in an era of coin and specie shortage may be a key legacy from the state's second oldest county, which no longer exists.

Key Finance Terms:

Accounting Units: Pound, shilling, sterling. Abbreviated in court entries and merchant accounting/ book entries as £.s.d. One pound = 20 shillings one shilling = 12 pence. (Not to be confused with currency value. £1 sterling Great Britain value typically higher in early 1700s than £1 Virginia or North Carolina - another colony's currency was treated as if foreign currency).

Barrel: Legislated by North Carolina law for commerce use in terms of size & weight (abbreviated, "Barr.").

Bill of Credit: North Carolina was an early

adopter of paper money, emitting bills from 1712-1774. A province-issued transferable IOU to fund public works, transferable in paying taxes and in merchant trade. Paper "money" usually was withdrawn from circulation when returned as payment of NC taxes; provincial government would burn or re-use the bills.

Bill of Exchange: In modern terms, a post-dated check, usually written by an affluent "drawer" for larger sterling sums to be accepted in larger port cities or transferable when endorsed to a third party. To be paid either 30, 60, or 90 days (about 3 months) upon presentation to the "drawee."

Book Credit: Bookkeeping method of debits/ credits used by both planters and merchants. For example when a bill of exchange was presented to the London merchant as payment, the issuer's book credit in the merchant's bookkeeping was reduced by the same amount.

Bound or Bond: Agreement to pay back money or provide services from one party to another.

Cwt: One hundred weight or 100 pounds worth.

Commodity Money: The equivalent consideration given in transactions approved to be tendered in "produce of the land," or "country pay." The rates were legislated by the North Carolina provincial government and included furs, tobacco, pork, etc.

Consideration: The amount tendered for a sale. If none was noted it was listed, "no consideration given" (abbreviated as "ncg.").

Credit: *International credit:* Typically bank issued paper or bills of exchange; *Domestic Credit:* Typically, merchant accounting book credit, and

promissory notes.

Current Money: Approved consideration to be tendered in transactions of the province as legislated by provincial government (abbreviated in deed book and court records as “cm.”).

Guinea: One pound and one shilling.

Indenture: Any deed, formal legal contract, or sealed agreement for debt, purchase, and in the case of servants or apprentices recorded for terms of service.

Messuage: A tract of land with some type of building, i.e., to differentiate from unimproved land.

Pieces of Eight: A Spanish milled dollar equal to 8 Reales.

Pistole: A gold coin, sold for £8 in North Carolina paper money, yet a pistole was worth less than £1, approx. 16.5 shillings sterling in England (20 shillings = £1 pound).

Proclamation money: Value of foreign coins as proclaimed by English King or Queen, also used for paper money (i.e., bills of credit; abbreviated as “pm.”).

Specie: “Hard” money, mint-produced coins of silver, gold, copper pennies and half pennies.

Introduction

Early colonial court records from Bath County show that merchants and consumers enjoyed a variety of credit and lending options in the decades leading up to 1739, the year the state’s second oldest county was abolished.¹ Bath County shares a conjoined enduring legacy with Albemarle County. Aside from both being extinct, their early maritime commerce and growth in the proprietary years effectively birthed one hundred North Carolina counties, plus seven counties in Tennessee.²

Bath County, created in 1696 by the Lords Proprietors and little referenced after 1724, can still offer a glimpse of three-hundred-year-old credit and lending. Echoes from fur trading and delivering goods and wares via shallow-draft sloops, schooners, and brigs still linger in quarterly General and Higher Court records going back to the 1690s. Fortunately, many now-vanished Bath County records were transcribed from 1832-1835.³ The first two volumes of Beaufort County Deed Books (abbreviated Beaufort I and II herein), Colonial Court Records from North Carolina State Archives (CCR), and the Colonial

Records of North Carolina, Second Series (CRNC) are the key primary sources cited in this article.

The goal of this retrospective study was to identify the extent and the nature of credit use by Bath County residents and visitors whose interests are listed in either general or higher-court records. Their quotidian personal and business affairs used credit during a shortage of specie in numerous ways: domestic merchants imported goods via credit extended from British merchants, rural merchants received credit from larger merchants in port cities, and consumers received credit from their local merchants or from one another using political or social or family networks.⁴

Court records of debt collection efforts reveal the financing practices supporting the era’s maritime commerce as conducted by fur traders, coastal traders, wealthy planters and officials, and intercolonial merchants from London, England. Of significance in the fur trading period are numerous records linked to Micajah Perry and grandson Micajah Perry III, successful London importers of Virginia tobacco, both principals in the ancillary fur trade venture in North Carolina.⁵

Methodology

Local Precinct Quarterly Court, General Court, and North Carolina Colonial Higher Court records (NC HC) from 1695 to 1739 were reviewed to locate qualifying transcriptions mentioning credit mediums of exchange. Criteria for inclusion were mention of credit instruments, obligations, being bound or with bond, written repayment agreements, merchant accounts, book debt, or debt collection for estates. Qualifying entries were ideally linked to Bath County by residence, by attorney, or by record of conducting business. Credit instruments included the following: loans/mortgages, indentures, bills of exchange, promissory notes, bills of credit, and other written agreements indicating a future payment for goods or services. Direct barter *quid pro quo* and cash payments in coin, specie, and sterling were excluded unless reference given to future repayment terms.

Limitations

Limitations to this review include errors from sources previously transcribed. Plus, many court records, merchant books, diaries, and ledgers from the proprietary years have not survived. Bath County’s precinct courts did not meet during the Tuscarora War (1711-1713) and very few records from early

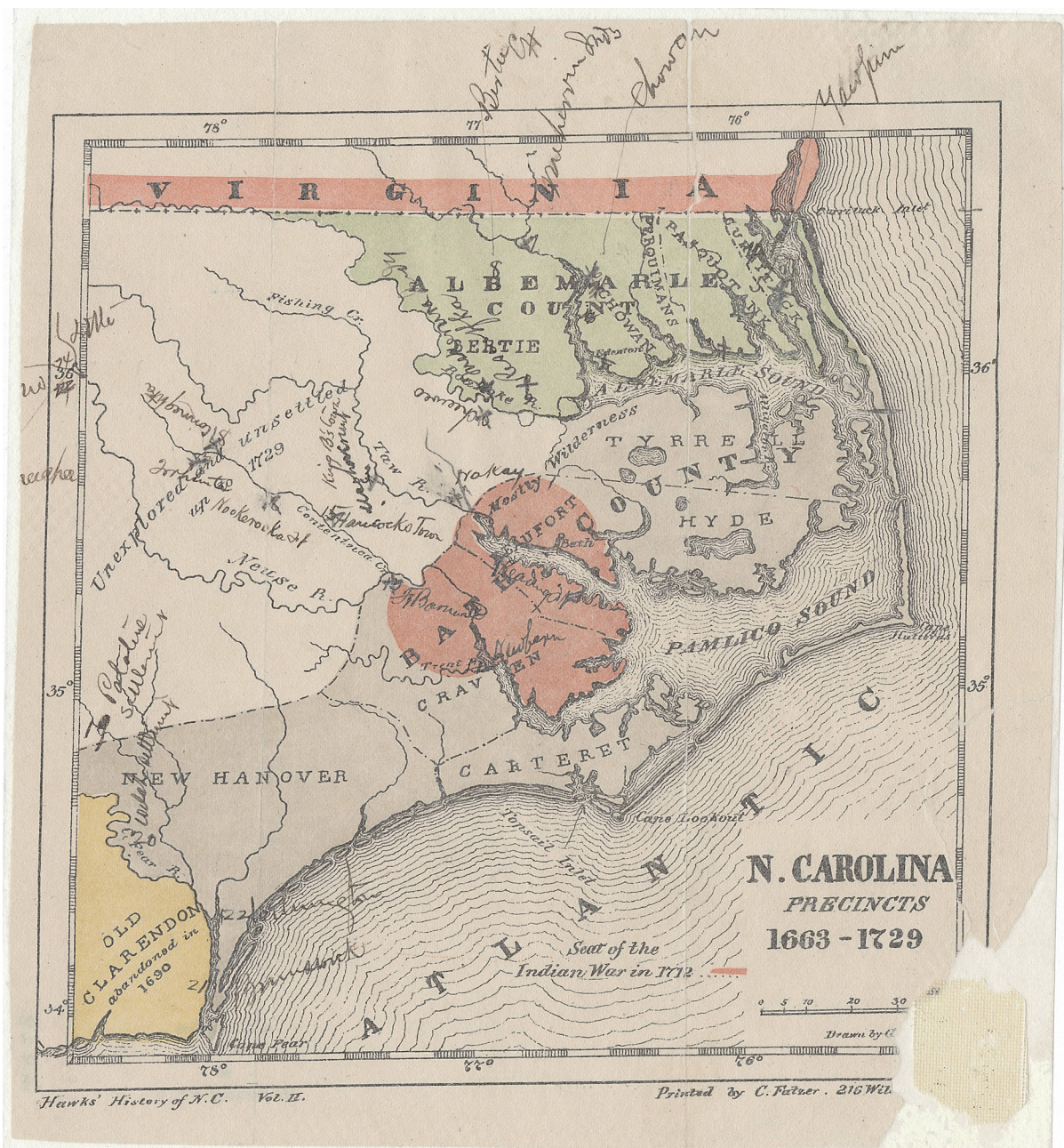


Figure 1. Map showing North Carolina proprietary precincts from 1663-1729 (Image courtesy of UNC Libraries, Chapel Hill, NC).

eighteenth century Port Bath shipping are available.⁶ These obstacles, coupled with the lack of fixed courthouses, and fires, mildew, and mice over a span of three centuries, contributed to a fuzzy picture of early colonial credit and lending in North Carolina's maritime trade during this review period of 1695 to 1739.

Background

The earliest North Carolina colonists resided in two loosely defined settlements: Albemarle and Pamplough (Pamlico), where newcomers settled along two large rivers emptying into the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds.⁷ On December 3, 1705, Bath County was made into three precincts: Beaufort, Craven, and Hyde.⁸ John Lawson (1674-1711), a surveyor and naturalist, glowingly called the now extinct Bath County region, "this Summer Country," and promoted benefits of Bath County maritime commerce in

his writings.⁹ By 1730, Bath County settlement had expanded to include a broad region between the Albemarle Sound and Cape Fear; with settlements stretching from Bath to New Bern, Beaufort, and down to Brunswick (Figure 1).¹⁰ Although the county was settled by immigration from both abroad and other colonies, internal population growth of settlers and the enslaved also affected economic growth, and overseas and domestic trade.¹¹

Population Growth

Economic historians John McCusker and Russell Menard wrote *The Economy of British America*, in which the authors argue that the relationship between overseas trade, the rise of the domestic market, and eventual integration of a provincial economy were linked with colonial population increases and spread of settlement.¹² Population numbers of Bath County during

Figure 2. 1708 Map of Albemarle drawn by Edward Moseley, Surveyor General of North Carolina (Image courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library, London).



early Lord Proprietors’ governing years can be gleaned from evidence such as parish registers, tythables (or tithable), and correspondence on tax assessment.¹³ By 1715, every head of household paid an annual poll tax on income-producing laborers at the rate of fifteen shillings per tithable or two shillings and five pence per acre with tithables defined as follows: free white males over sixteen years of age, any enslaved woman or man, and any enslaved child over twelve years old.¹⁴

An extraordinary resource linking both claims of population growth and poll tax lists appears on the little-known 1708 map of

Albemarle County, drawn for the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Tenison (1613-1715) by Edward Moseley (1682–1749; Figure 2). Moseley served as North Carolina treasurer from 1715 to 1749, acquired over 40,000 acres of land, and was considered a very influential provincial official.¹⁵ Tenison was known for advocating to King William III to establish the Society for the Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).¹⁶

Moseley’s map reveals the growth of North Carolina counties in its lower left-hand cartouche, showing numbers of Bath and Albemarle County tithables by precinct (Figure 3).¹⁷ The tithable population of North Carolina’s

Figure 3. Cartouche inset of the 1708 Map of Albemarle showing “tythables” by precinct (Image courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library, London).



first five precincts is listed as 1800 total, Bath County 350 and Albemarle County 1450. Moseley's cartouche also declares province population growth doubled over "these last few years."¹⁸

Unfortunately, Moseley's population numbers are contradicted by tithable figures found in the 1715-1716 "Corn List" used to levy taxes to raise funds to protect settlers against attacks by Native American groups. The later list shows, in comparison to Moseley's 1800 account, only 1349 tithables (distributed amongst precincts as Chowan 343, Perquimons [Perquimans] 264, Pasquotank 488, Couratuck [Currituck] 142, Hyde 62, and Beauford [Beaufort] 50.)¹⁹

In 1721, a London Board of Trade report on growth catches up to Moseley's 1707 and 1708 map and marketing attempt, and states that, "we are not thoroughly [*sic*] informed of the number of Inhabitants, but according to the best accounts we could get the number of persons in their Tythables or Poll Tax were not long since above 1600 of which about one third were Blacks."²⁰ By 1730 Bath County had grown from three precincts to seven (Beaufort, Bladen, Carteret, Craven, Hyde, New Hanover, and Onslow).²¹ That year, there were between 30,000 and 35,000 inhabitants in the colony.²² In a letter to the British government dated September 4, 1731, Governor George Burrington reported, "that a great number of people have come ... to settle, lately I hear of more that are coming from the Neighbouring [*sic*] Colonies."²³ By 1734, the two counties of Albemarle and Bath were reported to have had a settler population of less than 40,000.²⁴ As the first seven and additional precincts increased in importance, eventually becoming counties themselves, the parent county disappeared, and both Albemarle and Bath Counties were abolished by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1739.²⁵

Merchants, Bookkeeping, Book Debt as Evidence, Bath's first "store"

There were many merchants in Bath County from 1695 to 1739. Some planters had storehouses and would sell surpluses to neighbors as needed, but they were not merchants. As most court records recorded occupation and precinct of residence, Beaufort I, which covers a period from 1696 to 1729, indicates that merchants engaged in transacting affairs at the courthouse more than any other occupation, with mariners following shortly thereafter in frequency. The eighty-three merchants and fifty mariners out of the 243 individuals considered in this study represent more than half of the Bath County court cases and land sale records.

As seen in transcribed Bath County court records, financial accounting of a varying sort was in use by merchants to track debits and credits.²⁶ Terms in debt pleas often appear as "by account," "by current account," or "by contra credit." Prior to 1730, most provincial judges in General and Higher North Carolina Court were not trained lawyers, and occasionally "shop book," or "book debt," was presented as evidence even though it was banned in English court.²⁷ In accordance with English law, evidential proof was based primarily on submission of handwritten instruments such as indentures, bond agreements, or promissory notes. When a lawsuit was filed and court found in favor of the plaintiff, the defendant would sign a binding agreement, and the bill of debt would be recorded. Below are two bill of debt examples from 1695 and 1704 that relate to early Pamlico and Bath County, from *Gormache v. Smith*, and *Peterson/New Pennsylvania Company v. Collins*:

"This Bill bindeth Mr. Richard Smith gentleman in Pamptico in the full and just sum of six pounds starlin money.... I bynde myself to pay..in Good sound marchanable drest bucks at two shilling per pair and drest does at 18 pence per peire and to deliver same to Mr. Pollocks Landing in Chowan River at or upon the Twenty four day of Agust next insueing the date of these presents. 24 June 1695."

"This Bill bindeth me Thomas Collings and my Heires to pay for Mr. Thomas Peterson and New Penselvaney Compenney the Summ of five pound ten shillings in fresh pork at William Glover's landing as Wittness my hand and this 24th Day of December 1704."²⁸

By 1732, the Virginia General Assembly enacted a statute admitting store books into evidence with the condition that an oath be sworn as to the veracity of transactions in a merchant's record book of accounts.²⁹ In North Carolina, possibly due to Quaker objection to oath and swearing in the name of God, the General Assembly was slow to follow suit.³⁰ Only in 1756 did North Carolina statute finally allow merchant account books into evidence.³¹

A 1701 bookkeeping example of Bath County "contra credit" entries by a merchant-port official is recorded with prices of goods titled, "Quary & Co, Glover consignee v. Smith, a debt plea 'by account' for £160.7.7 ½ [pound/shilling/pence unit of account]." Store account evidence shows the nature of trade goods and wares issued on credit, in exchange for a future payment in "Indian Pay," which meant furs and skins.³² Below is one bookkeeping example from

a Bath fur trader involving contra credit from January 3, 1701:

“To

44 pounds of Shott att 2 d.1/2,
 1 doz of small Knives, 1 doz of bottles
 6 brass Kettles: wt. 16 pounds at 20d/ lb.
 Ditto 1 doz. of bottles, 2 pounds of Flints
 att 2s,
 2 barrells of powder, 2 pair of blew
 plains, 1 pair of Red plains
 1 pair of Stript duffills, 1 pair of blew
 plains
 66 pounds of Tobacco, 200 Gallons of
 Rum att 3s.6d
 5 brass kettles wt 19 pounds: att 20d,
 1 lb. of virmillion and 1 lb. of red lead, 6
 doz of fish hookes at 6d
 700 Flints: att 2s. per pound,
 2 hhds of Tobacco wt. Grose 892
 238 Gallons of Rum att 3s. 6, 118 pounds
 of Shott: and 22 bottles,
 25 Gallons of Rum att 3s.6, 116 pounds
 of Shott att 2d 1/2 per pound,
 4 dox fish hookes att 6d, *Torn* of Shott att
 2 d 1/2,

By Shott returne,

80 bucks, 199 does 9 roccoones
 14 fox and Catt: 3 Muskratts 2 Otters 5
 pounds,
 6 ounces of beaver
 49 does 29 bucks 8 pricketts,
 4 roccoons; 2 Woolves 2 bares 3 otters
 21 pounds of beaver 41 pricketts:
 194 does 140 bucks.”³³

Another example of early bookkeeping appears in a 1704 North Carolina court case in which the New Pennsylvania Company from London and

Jamestown Virginia filed suit, “By account Plea of debt,” totaling £742.19.08.³⁴ Another Perry v. Falconar court record contains an account summary with debits listed over three years from 1699 to 1701 (shown in Table 1).³⁵

Bath County’s First Three Towns

Bath received its town charter from the Lords Proprietors in 1705, and sixty town lots were laid out. Court and church alike were held initially in the homes of locals.³⁶ The original Port of Bath customs district, created by the Lords Proprietors in 1716, extended inland from Ocracoke Inlet and Topsail Inlet and as far south as Cape Fear. A courthouse in Bath was built in 1723 and the county’s first church, St. Thomas Parish, was built in 1734.³⁷

New Bern was the second oldest colonial town in Bath County, founded in 1710 by the Palatines and Swiss under the leadership of Christoph de Graffenried.³⁸ The new colonists named their settlement after Bern, the Swiss region.³⁹ New Bern, like Bath and Beaufort, had very few houses and town dwellers in the early 1700s. In 1741, New Bern was inhabited by as few as twenty-one families; not until later did New Bern’s fortune begin to improve. New Bern finally received its borough charter on May 31, 1760.⁴⁰

The county’s third oldest town, Beaufort, was initially laid out on acreage purchased by Farnifold Green, a resident from Bath. The town was named Beaufort in 1713 on land resold to Robert Turner, a local settler, but was not incorporated until 1723. Numerous lots were sold in Beaufort immediately after the lots were

1699	4.4.8	177.17.02
1700	362.19.00 1/2	3.11.08
1700	207.14.10 1/2	14.07.06
1701	15.14.01	18.13.06
1701	31.12.06	3.00.00
1701	5.14.00	163.14.06
1701	2.10.00	9.07.00
1701	2.00.00	120.05.05
1701	22.00.00	232.02.11

Table 1. Current Account listing debits from Perry v. Falconer court record dated, April 4, 1704.

laid out, but few of the initial investors built on the lots.⁴¹ As late as 1748, the county had only 320 tithables and by 1765 it was still described as a town of not more than twelve houses.⁴²

Bath County Shipbuilding (1695-1739)

Bath County early precincts such as Beaufort, Hyde, Carteret had a shipbuilding tradition in the proprietary years. Between 1703 and 1739 seventeen vessels had been identified as built in Bath County: two periaugers (3 tons), eight sloops (6-60 tons), a schooner (3 tons), a brig (65 tons), and four ships (100-150 tons).⁴³ These vessels are detailed in Table 2.⁴⁴

An early eighteenth century last will and testament offers details about the 1734 Bath-built brig, *Happy Luke*. The will provides the shipyard location for the vessel, insurance, cargo of tar, master's name, and preference for final disposition. Edward Salter, (1690-1735), the brig's owner, was a well-known Bath colonial resident. Salter was also known as a cooper turned gentleman, and was linked to Edward Teach, also known as the pirate, Blackbeard.⁴⁵

“My will is that my Brigantine now in the stocks at John Smith's, be got finished and made fit for the Sea as soon as may be (By Name The *Happy Luke*)

and may (after she is ready for the Sea) be loaden with tar which I have in my hands, belonging to Sundry Gentlemen in Boston... My Will further is that my Executors may write two or three ways (before she Sails out of the Port of Bath) to Collo. Jacob Windall and Company, to Insure the sum of Twelve Hundred pounds, (Boston Money) upon the said Brigantine... My will further is, that the money that may arise, by the Sale of the said Brigantine shall be remitted in youngable Slaves, (none to exceed the age of twenty years).⁴⁶

Bath County's Fur Trade Years (1696-1715)

During this era, newcomer settlers all shared a common goal of quick wealth accumulation. Lawson, considered a Bath founding father, explained why Bath County's lower land costs were attractive to settlers from other colonies:

“Men have a great Advantage of choosing good and commodious Tracts of Land at the first Seating of a Country or River... That land was a hundred times dearer to buy and four times more costly to keep in the northerly provinces was a great inducement to Virginians and others to settle in Bath County.”⁴⁷

1703: <i>Otter</i> , sloop (20 tons, built in Pamlico)	1725: <i>Adventure</i> , piragua (unknown tonnage, built in Bath)
1725: <i>Virginity</i> , schooner (3 tons, built in Bath)	1725: <i>Laurel</i> , sloop (6 tons, built in Beaufort)
1727: <i>North Carolina</i> , ship (40 tons, built in Bath)	1727: <i>Greyhound</i> , periauger (3 tons, built Matchapongo River)
1728: <i>Prosperity</i> , sloop (7 tons, built in Bath)	1730: <i>Ann and Sarah</i> , sloop (30 tons, built in Bath)
1730: <i>Ara and Sarah</i> , sloop (40 tons, built in Bath)	1731: <i>Carolina</i> , sloop (60 tons, built in Bath)
1731: <i>John and David</i> , Ship (100 tons, built in Bath)	1731: <i>Ranger</i> , sloop (15 tons, built in Bath)
1732: <i>Ann and Sarah</i> , Brig (65 tons, built in Port Bath)	1734: <i>Bob and Alice</i> , ship (150 tons, built in Bath)
1734: <i>Robert and Alice</i> , ship (150 tons, built in Bath County)	1734: <i>Batchelor</i> , sloop (7 tons, built in Hyde Precinct)
1734: <i>Happy Luke</i> , brig (unknown tons, built in Bath)	

Table 2. Seventeen vessels built in Bath County, 1695-1739.

Virginia closed its ports to North Carolina tobacco imports from 1679 to 1729, although sometimes North Carolina tobacco was shipped directly to New England.⁴⁸ Most of the early trade was carried on by New England captains who bartered rum, molasses, salt, wine, soap, spices, beads for Indian trade, livestock, as well as woolens, cotton goods, needles, and knives from England. In return they exited with Indian corn, pickles, salt pork, hides, and tobacco.⁴⁹ Lawson listed examples of fur traders trading wooden bowls and ladles for furs and travelling in pack trains on the old Indian trails with four to five men and a train of up to thirty packed horses.⁵⁰ Lawson also included an anecdote of a trader giving beads and red Cádiz fabric in exchange for an Indian maiden's "favors."⁵¹

Bath County fur traders traded goods and wares for furs and skins, targeting coastal tribes such as the Machapunga, Tuscarora, Coree, Secotan, Neusiok, Pomouik (Pamlico), Moratok, and Chowanoc – unlike the Virginia or South Carolina traders who traded with tribes of the Piedmont.⁵² Menard and McCusker wrote that Carolinians had the advantage over fur traders from England, France, and Spain due to geography and abundance of furs, especially in deerskins.⁵³

Before accumulating wealth and becoming a state Chief Justice, Christopher Gale wrote a letter to his father in 1703 about his fur trade experience in Bath County:

“Hon’d Father, I cood wish Bro. Miles were with me just now, for tomorrow’s first light I sett out upon an Indian voyage, in order to follow a shallop’s load of Indian goods which I sent away for about 2 months ago for Cape Fare River, w’ch wood make him an expert Carolina coaster, and inure him so far to the Customes & Language of ye heathen, as to make him a well-qualified Indian Trader... if he cood but bring 2 or 300 pounds and a wife... provided he can marry a Fortune that would brave ye dangers off ye Atlantick Ocean... 1 penny in England is worth 3 with us, if well laid out.”⁵⁴

Customs Clearances, Vessels, and Cargo of the Fur Trading Era

In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, Bath began to establish itself as a viable port of entry for the Carolina colony. The North American British customs districts during the study period were monitored by the British Treasury through provincial customs officials and naval officers.⁵⁵ The customs collector, or his deputy, submitted reports on duties collected on

imported and exported goods, while the naval officer recorded shipping lists of vessels and cargo they carried.⁵⁶

In the absence of customs reports, colonial records from Port Roanoke (see Table 3) suffice to show vessels and cargo typical of Bath County from 1697 to 1703.⁵⁷ Prior to the Port of Bath’s creation in 1716, arriving or departing vessels were cleared in customs district waterways. Officers were headquartered in Little River as part of the Port Roanoke district to clear vessels using Currituck Inlet, Roanoke Inlet, and the Albemarle Sound, or otherwise located in the Pamlico or Bath customs district to clear vessels using Ocracoke Inlet via the Pamlico Sound.⁵⁸

Colonel Robert Quarry and James Leigh, two British-American customs officials with plantations on the Pamlico River just outside of Bath, were early to recognize the county’s maritime promise. Quarry, appointed Surveyor General of Customs for North America and the adjacent islands, relocated from Charleston to Bath in 1700 to establish a store trading post at Romley Marsh landing.⁵⁹ Leigh moved south with his wife and six children from Virginia and was appointed Collector of Her Majesties’ Customs in Pamlico Neuse Rivers in Bath County. He was sworn in by Quarry and Christopher Gale on November 2, 1703.⁶⁰

An early 1697 customs clearance document survives from a typical plantation-built 20-ton sloop, *Peter*, which cleared North Carolina customs and sailed to New Castle, Rhode Island with a crew of five men. The sloop carried exports from North Carolina as well as Fayal wine from the Portuguese Azores. The customs document itemized the cargo as follows: “nine hundred bushalls corne, fourty bushells of pease and beanes, fourty racoone skinns, fourty dry hides, seventy pounds feathers, thirty foure barells porke, one barrell of Oyle, three beaver skins, fifteen raw deare skinns, twelve drest deare skinns, ten quarter casqs of Fayall wines, one shipp Anchor at one thousand pounds and also store for two hundred and sixty pounds.”⁶¹ These goods shown in customs reports, predominantly skins and furs, represented exchange between the European settlers and American Indian tribal communities.

There are three other representative examples of early eighteenth-century sloops clearing customs in North Carolina in 1703. First, the 7-ton sloop *Speedwell* cleared Port Roanoke customs in 1703, carrying a crew of four men, cleared a cargo of 143 bushels of wheat, and 275 deer skins.⁶² Secondly, a larger sloop, *Tryall*, 30 tons, captained by Master Joseph Ming (or Mingo) of Bath was cleared inbound from the James River, Virginia in ballast.⁶³ Third, the sloop *Providence*,

captained by Jeremiah Goodridge, sailed outbound with a cargo of rigging, tar, anchors, guns, sail, and inventory.⁶⁴

Between 1708 and 1713, North Carolina reached a state of crisis, with Quakers vying with Anglicans for political power, and American Indians confronting settlers in what became known as the Tuscarora War.⁶⁵ During this period, de Graffenreid founded New Bern and brought over one hundred German Palatine families to New Bern to settle on banks of the Neuse River. Queen Anne provided £4,000 to de Graffenreid as payment for the transportation costs associated with displacing a tribal village.⁶⁶ Graffenreid's 1710 credit financing features a promissory note from a London merchant and bill of exchange from a Berne merchant associated with these expenses.⁶⁷

Once the word was spread that money was to be made trading with the indigenous population, the General Assembly passed a new law in 1715, which stated that strangers from outside the province and foreigners could not "truck or trade" with the American Indians.⁶⁸ After the Treaty of Utrecht ended Queen Anne's War, or War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713), the seas became safe once again for mercantile voyages. Additionally, an expansion of land cultivation pushed out Native Americans living on the coastal plains, which further diminished the fur trade. Fur traders, having raised some capital, turned their attention to planters and farmers with surpluses of agricultural goods, tar and pitch, lumber, as well as speculations in land tracts or town lots further south. This trend is reflected in samples listed in the appendix, with increased use of credit in non-fur trade transactions and land purchases.

Bath County's Population and Coastal Trade (1716-1739)

From 1720 to 1730, North Carolina's population increased by 130 percent, and rose another 67 percent the following decade.⁶⁹ The province received a vote of confidence from England in establishing two more official colonial ports of entry, in addition to the Albemarle's Port Roanoke.⁷⁰ Adhering to the North American customs protocol which applied to all British provinces from Nova Scotia down to the British West Indies, vessels entering or departing Bath County could now clear customs through either the Port of Bath, created in 1716, or the Port of Beaufort, created in 1722.⁷¹ With Queen Anne's War finally over, ships and sea captains sailing between New England, Virginia, South Carolina, and the West Indies made more frequent stops in Ocracoke Inlet and Old Topsail Inlet at the

two new port towns.⁷²

Three Merchant Letter Excerpts (1727, 1728, 1737)

In the absence of Bath County merchant journals or ledgers, three examples of surviving correspondence shed light on the move away from furs and towards trade in intercolonial and West Indian exports such as beef, pork, tallow, lumber, and peas. First, a 1727 letter from Thomas Pilkington of Bath to Boston merchant William Clarke, sent from St. Kitts, West Indies, reveals shipments of gallons of rum, gallons of molasses, one 16-year-old African girl sold for £22, and casks of sugar with an open invoice balance of £104.12.9.⁷³ Second, a letter sent in 1728 to the Lords of Trade and Plantations from the last proprietary governor of the province, Sir Richard Everard, described North Carolinian dependency on West Indian imports and the trade of beef and pork:

"The bounty on Pitch and Tarr being off we have no Trade to depend on but our Beef and Pork wch is bought up by our Neighbours the Virginians here and drove alive in Virginia so that our Navigation is entirely lost, the Virginians bring in neither Mollasses sugar nor Rum wch are the Chief Support of this Province wch is a very great prejudice to our Planters the Droovers Stealing the flocks of Hoggs and Cattle in their Driving I may safely say thirty thousand Hoggs were drove out last year."⁷⁴

Third, a letter from a now lost Edenton letter book tells of a West Indies import and export business that utilized a Bath-built schooner in 1737.⁷⁵ Bath merchant Seth Pilkington wrote the letter to Messrs. Pilkington (his son Thomas) and Wilson at St. Christophers, located in the West Indies:

"Gentlemen,

Here so many disappointments greet this trade, that it's enough to discourage any person who has a fortune...Here's such swarms of NE pedlars, running from house to house, that I'm afraid these lazy planters will not be easily reconciled to any other way of business...Enclosed you will find what I have sold... the schooner is fitted as well as our country will admit, but could not put any oak plank aboard without great loss of storage. I will despatch her in about twelve days with beef, pork, tallow. I shall keep a periaguer running to collect to a storehouse I have rented.

I've provided an able seaman and artist to bring you the new sloop, which I hope you will have the pleasure of seeing next May. Please send 5 hhds rum, 3 hhds malt, 4 carls sugar, 5 bolts ozenburg, 3 ps garlix, 3 px, checks and one ream of paper. I've sent your peas in carls, that will serve for rum and be more handy than hhds.

-S.P.⁷⁶

Table 3 shows several examples of other vessels from the period of 1726 to 1740.⁷⁷ These eight vessel clearances bound for Bath, were found in Virginia port records sent to London. Ports cleared included those located on the York River, James River, South Potomac, Port Rappahannock, and London.

Summarizing North Carolina coastal trade in 1721, a report by the British Board of Trade reviewed the obstacles and items of key import and export cargo as follows:

“There are great Tracts of good land in this Province and it is a very healthy Country, but the situation renders it forever incapable of being a place of considerable Trade by reason of a great sound near sixty miles over, that lyes between this Coast and the Sea, barr'd by a vast chain of sand banks so very shallow and shifting that sloops drawing only five foot water run great riske of crossing them... The little Commerce therefore driven to this Colony is carried on by very small sloops chiefly from New England, who bring them Clothing and Iron Ware in Exchange for their Pork and Corn but of late they have made small Quantities of Pitch and Tar which are first exported to New England and thence to Great Britain...”⁷⁸

North Carolina Imports and Exports by the 1730's

John Brickel, an Irish physician who visited and lived in the province for six years, itemized in his book, *Natural History of North Carolina*, a summary of typical imports and exports in the North Carolina colony.⁷⁹ The list was

much expanded from the Board of Trade items referenced previously and included goods such as clothing, iron wares, pork, corn, pitch, and tar. Written in 1731 but not published for several years later, his book included a foldout map of Bath and Albemarle counties along with the precincts that would eventually become North Carolina counties.

“The Commodities convenient to bring to this Province from Europe are as follows; Guns, Powder, Ball, Shot, Flints, Linnens of all Sorts, but chiefly Blues; Brown and Stamp Linnens, Oznabrigs, Men and Women's Apparel ready made up; some few Broad-Cloaths, Blew and Bed Stuff's, Callimancoes, Druggets, Kersies, Camblets, all light Stuffs for Men and Women's Summer Wear, Habberdashers Wares, Stockings of all sorts, some few Gloves, thin Wigs, linnen Caps, Silk-thread, common Thread of all Sorts, Needles Pins, Tobacco Pipes, Glass for Sash windows, Looking Glasses, all sorts of hard Ware, such as Knives, Forks, Sizers, Saws, Hatchets, Chisels, Bills, Hoes, Spades, Shovels, Grubing Hoes, Wedges, nails, and all manner of Tools for Carpenters, Shoemakers, Coopers Shave Locks, Locks for Doors, Traps of all Sorts, and especially for Beavers, what we commonly call Fox-Traps, Grindle-Stones, all manner of Whet-Stones, Paper, Ink, Saddles, Bridles, Fish-hooks of all Sorts, several Toys, as Fans, necklaces. Beads, Ribbons, Tape, Thimbles, Shoe-buckles, and the like; Tradesmen of all sorts. Honest Servants and negroes.”⁸⁰

Brickel's book also included a list of suggested agricultural commodities and other domestically sourced items that a planter or merchant might export to Europe or the West Indies:

Year	Cleared	Type Rig	Name	Burden	Master
1726	23-Jul	piragua	<i>Adventure</i>	unknown	Capt. Joseph Herrott
1726	23-Jul	schooner	<i>Virginity</i>	3	John West
1726	30-Sep	sloop	<i>Rachel</i>	11	Thomas Phippen
1726	10-Oct	sloop	<i>Eagle</i>	13	Cornelius Fowler
1726	18-Nov	schooner	<i>Virginity</i>	3	John West
1737	2-Jun	schooner	<i>Ranger</i>	5	Josias Little
1737	8-Aug	schooner	<i>Ranger</i>	5	" "
1740	4-Aug	unknown	<i>Three Friends</i>	70 tons	Capt. James Ellison

Table 3. Eight vessels that cleared Port Bath from 1726 to 1740.

“Beef, Porke, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Wheat, Indian-Corn, Pease, Potatoes, Rice, Honey, Bees-wax, Myrtle-wax, Tobacco, Snake-root, Turpentine, Tar, Pitch, Masts for Ships, Staves, Planks and Boards of most sorts of Timber, Cotton, and several sorts of Gums, Teas with some medicinal Drugs ; Bricks and Tiles are made here, likewise several useful Earths, such as Bole, Fullers-Earth, Tobacco Pipe Clay, and Oaker, in great Plenty, excellent good Earth for the Potters Trade, and fine Sand for the Glassmakers. They export abundance of Horses to the Islands of Antegua, Barhadoes.”⁸¹

A Potpourri Look at Bath County’s Use of Credit

The representative selections below give the reader an overview of early colonial use of credit

and lending during the study period 1695-1739. The thirty-three record samples show a wide variety of financial transactions affecting consumers and merchants both large and small. The categories below include foreign and domestic merchants, fur traders, sea captains, tradesmen, officials, women, the enslaved, and American Indians. The use of different credit instruments will be summarized in a later section. See Appendix 1 for a comprehensive table with all 172 credit and lending records referenced below.

London Merchants

Several London merchants appear as creditors in this study period, lending small and substantial amounts. Chief among them were Micajah I and Micajah Perry III of Perry & Lane, a large tobacco import firm that filed numerous debt-related lawsuits, many with links to Bath County, from 1700 to 1714.⁸² Interestingly, of 251 tobacco importers in London in 1697, only thirty, including Perry & Lane, imported furs and skins.⁸³ Perry’s connections were instrumental in arranging funding and transport for French Huguenots to Virginia and Bath in 1701, and for Palatine settlers to New Bern in 1708.⁸⁴ Perry & Lane also owned or part-owned numerous merchant vessels ranging from

200 tons to 460 tons.⁸⁵ Of note are surviving remnants of the smallest known Perry-owned vessel, *Carolina Princess* (also known as the “Ronson Ship”). The brig’s remains were discovered in 1982 as part of a development project in Manhattan, New York. Archaeological analysis demonstrated that the brig was 100 feet in length, 11 ft. draft, 9 ft. depth of hold, and that it was Charleston-built.⁸⁶

Furthermore, Frederick Jones, of Jones & Deed of London, appeared as both plaintiff and defendant in Bath County records between 1700 and 1703. Jones had homes in both Virginia and North Carolina and became involved in North Carolina politics. He eventually became chief justice, succeeding Tobias Knight and preceding Christopher Gale. Surviving correspondence indicates he partnered in merchant shipping with his brother, Thomas Jones.⁸⁷ Frederick Jones owned a plantation called “Hayes” outside Edenton from 1710 to 1722.⁸⁸

1697-1701 – “Fred Jones & Julius Deeds of London v. Wm. Duckenfield, £800.0.0, By account Plea of debt, in skins and furs, 6% interest per annum.⁸⁹ Duckenfield had an interest prior to 1702 in John Buntin’s Plantation on the Pamlico River, related to a £20 mortgage.”⁹⁰

1702/1705 – Attorney to collect Debt. “Thomas Peterson, Merchant of Albemarle CO NC by virtue of Procuration to me from Micajah Perry, President of the Pennsylvania Company mark in London 15 Mar 1702...I appoint George Birkenhead of Bath Co NC my attorney within Bath Co on behalf of Micajah Perry and sd Company 1 Aug 1705.”⁹¹

1703 – “Commander Jer. Goodridge v. Frederick Jones, £324.8.1, By Account.”⁹² Goodridge was commander of a pink (a type of sailing vessel) named *Adventure* and purchased a 300-acre tract in Bath County.⁹³

1703 – “Fred Jones of VA & London v. Thomas Dereham of Pamlico, £1000.0.0 sterling, By account Plea of debt, £247.8.3 in ‘skins’ and furs £210.0.6 in commodities.”⁹⁴

1707 – Bills of exchange. “Mr. Giles Shute by his attorney Mr. Edward Bonwick alledges there was a judgment obtained...against Mr Levi Truewhitt for £40 sterling... Truewhitt assigns his right to a plantation in Dereham’s/Durham’s Creek, where he now lives to Mr Giles as security for £40 sterling bills drawn upon a Merchant in London... October Court 1707.”⁹⁵

1730 – Bills of exchange, not honored. “Mr. Samuel Wragg London Merchant for the use of E. Moseley two Bills of Exchange not honored

for £10 Pound Sterling Feb 1, 1730, and one for £13 Pound Sterling. Mr. Robert Montague at Colonel Ramonds in Leadenhall Street London refused to pay. Woodes Rogers was the drawer of the said Bill, issued in New Providence (Nassau, Bahamas) to Capt. Joseph Blodworth.”⁹⁶

Domestic Merchants

The occupations index of Beaufort I reveals the extent of court records influenced by Bath County maritime commerce. Over seventy court records from merchants are recorded, more than any other occupation listed. Many identified merchants extended credit locally and/or received credit variously from merchants in Virginia, South Carolina, New York, Boston, and New England. Below are three examples of domestic credit and lending.

1707 – Loan with interest. “Emanuel Low, Gentleman of NC was loaned £38.8.9 p at 10% interest by a SC Merchant on August 6, 1707. Two Merchants of North Carolina James Beard and John Robinson were appointed to attorneys to represent SC merchant John Morgan of Charleston in demand for repayment.”⁹⁷

1720 – Bond and demand note. “Thomas Worsley, merchant of Bath Co is bound to Mr. Daniel Oliver, merchant of New England for £550, 19s 4d cm of New England. Worsley is to pay Oliver £74.3.5 for goods sold in Boston money and 200 pounds of like money to be paid on 10 Aug next, it being for half the sloop *Tryal*. Date 7 Feb 1721/21.”⁹⁸

1739 – Bond obligation. “12 Sept Seth Pilkington is firmly bound unto Josiah Jones in sum of £2400.0.0, if Seth pays £600 in money and £600 in merchantable tar, landing on Pamlico River, then obligation to be void.”⁹⁹

Fur Trading

During the fur trading era, liberal credit appears to have been extended to both Bath County and Albemarle County men trading with American Indian tribes. As a result, filing lawsuits at court was a standard practice for merchants, planters, and neighbors to collect unpaid debt. A wide variety of furs, skins, and pelts are mentioned in precinct and higher court records including raccoons, foxes, cats, does, bucks, bears, otters, prickets, wolves, rats, panthers, and beavers.

1706 – “New Pennsylvania Co v. Nicholas Daw, Hatter of Matchapungo, owed £40.16.10, By account Plea of debt, Repayment in Dressed Buck (2s) or in Doe skins (18p).”¹⁰⁰

1705 – Debt lawsuit. “Richard Smith owed London-based investment company £94.1.3.

Paid the merchant Micajah Perry, New Pensylvania Company £82.17.10 in furs and deerskins.”¹⁰¹

1706 – Debt lawsuit. “John Lawson owed Christopher Gale £333.8.0 in dressed buck and doe skins. Lawson was sued additionally for £666.16.0 Sterling damages.”¹⁰²

1708 – “New Pennsylvania Co v. John Lawson, £12.9.9, By account Plea of debt, in merchantable furs and skins.”¹⁰³

Sea Captains and Mariners

1700 – Plantation mortgage loan. “Wm. Duckinfield sold to Capt Nicholas Jones. £20.0.0 credit given...in Col. Quarries store confirms the sale of John Buntin’s plantation.”¹⁰⁴

1716 – One-year mortgage. “William Dudley of Bath mortgages to Joseph Morgan, mariner of New England for £25 sterling GB a 320-acre plantation on N side Pamlico River.... Payment due at or before 20 Jan next signed 3 Dec 1716.”¹⁰⁵

1720 – Bond, loan with interest. “Mar 10, Stephen Elsey and Thomas Henderson, planters of Bath Co are bound to Thomas Leigh, mariner of same for £10.0.0. sterling GB, £5 to be paid 10 Oct next with lawful interest.”¹⁰⁶

Tradesmen

1701 – Nine month note, no interest, current money. “Thomas Arnold, planter in Pamteco River to William Brice, Butcher both of Bath CO for £7.10.0 cm due 10 dec next, sell 300 acres including house 1 April 1701.”¹⁰⁷

1737 Mortgage using bills of credit. “Simon Alderson sells land to Philip Williams, carpenter, £40.0.0 in public bills, to buy 130 acres northside Pamptico River.”¹⁰⁸

Government and Port Officials

1702 – Indenture mortgage. “Hannah Cocharun sells 640 acres (about the area of Central Park in New York City) on the Pamlico to Bath County Customs collector James Leigh for £12.0.6.”¹⁰⁹

1705 – “Loan, no interest, 9 months. Term. Francis Garganus to Capt. William Barrow £113.0.0 ‘payable by 10 Dec next for plantation where I now live.’ 2 Mar 1704/5, from court held at house of Capt. Barrow. 4 July 1705.”¹¹⁰

1718 – Triangulated loan. “April 1, Received of Tobias Knight for the use of Mr. Isaack Mazick, merchant of SC £534.13s.3d cm NC. On back side endorsed Porter’s receipt for £534.13.3 from

T. Knight.”¹¹¹

Notable Persons

1705 – Loan with interest. “Landgrave, Thomas Smith of Province of South Carolina names his son Thomas Smith now of NC his attorney to collect debts owing to him in NC and especially from Mr. John Clarke the sum of £46 in currency of SC on bond together with interest. Clarke is responsible for dry goods sent to him for purchase of land at Cape Fear for sd Smith, which land Maj Gale of NC purchased for sd Smith 26 Oct 1715.”¹¹²

1715 – Loan with 6-month term. “Col Thomas Cary of Bath Co to William Haughton of NC for £40 sterling of England payable by 25 December next, 337 acres on N side Pamlico River... 7 April 1715.”¹¹³ The following year Thomas Haughton assigned his rights to George Moye for £45 sterling.

Females, Women & Widows

Undated – “Widdow Lary: If your husband did Dye Indebted more than hee (sp.) was worth you may pay Thomas Evans Eightime Shillings if itt be Due to him. Signed Robt. Daniel.”¹¹⁴

1702 – Credit ban. “May 8, 1702, George Montgomery posts his wife Elizabeth from having any credit for this day and forever.”¹¹⁵

1719 – “[Tobias Knight’s sister] Katharine Knight of Bath CO NC, widdow, names her brother Mr. Thomas Knight of London as her attorney to collect debts due her in London, Middlesex Co 20 Jul 1719.”¹¹⁶

American Indians

1702 – “Debt collection, James Welsh, Indian, A past debt to John Simson and Richard Williamson both planters of NC for a bond for 25 barrels of good and merchantable pitch to be paid at Coar sound in NC. ‘Slocumb’ is sold once again to Col Morice More/Moore of Bath County NC for £35 NC ‘paper money’ 21 Jul 1720.”¹¹⁷

Transactions featuring Enslaved People

1702 – Cornelius Benington of Albemarle from James Welsh, Indian of Bath County, Thomas Lepper, attorney, friend. Terms, “one barrel of pork or the value in skins now due unto him, by this Indian. Proved in court at the house of William Barrow.”¹¹⁸

1707/08 – Mortgage loan for “Joan:” “Richard Smith Gent of Bath Co mortgages to Hon Maj Christopher Gale of Bath Town for 72 barrels

of Tar a negro woman named Joan. Condition: Smith to repay tar by 26 Feb next. Signed 26 Feb 1707/8.”¹¹⁹

1708 – “One-year Loan/Mortgage for “Jack” Charles Smith planter of Matchapungo, NC, mortgages to Hon Thomas Cary Esq. Gov of NC for £1 ue debt payable in commodities: one barrel of pork or the value in skins due to him.”¹²⁰

1718 – An enslaved Indian is sold for pitch, then resold for N.C. Bills of credit. John Smith sells “Slocumb” with no surname at Charleston public auction in for “£61 cm of Carolina” to Richard Wigg on January 17, 1718. Then Richard Wigg sells Slocumb nine sterling a Black man named Jack on the condition Smith repay the £19 at the Town of Bath to Cary on or near October 7, 1718.”¹²¹

Vessel-related Court Records

1702 – “4 June, Attorney agreement. Jer. Goodridge, commander. ‘Know all men by these presents that I Jeremiah Goodridg Commander of the Pink *Adventure* have assigned, ordained, and in my stead and place put by these Presents do make and constitute my trusty and well beloved Friend William Barrow of Pamtico for and in my name and to receive in my place to ask, sue for, levy, require, recover, receive, pay, and demand all such Debts and sums of money which are now due.”¹²²

1720 – “Owner-financed purchase of sloop, with terms of 50% deposit, plus interest. *Batchellor*. Owner Geo. Stephen Mariner, bond £60 Pounds lawful silver money of America, £30 Pound to be paid with interest by 6 August to widow Mary Green. Mary Green assigned the bond to her friend from Bath, Nicholas Roach.”¹²³

1731 – “Unknown buyer of sloop *Carolina* uses Bills of Credit from Massachusetts. New York Carpenter Deen sells two thirds of sloop *Carolina*, 30 ton, for £160.00 with Bills of Credit from Massachusetts.”¹²⁴

Findings

This retrospective qualitative review identified 172 instances of credit-related court records from Bath County 1695-1739. Many transcribed debt case records came from Beaufort I, published by Beaufort County’s Genealogical Society in 2003. Many more were identified in volumes of the North Carolina Colonial Records and other sources listed in Table 4.

The credit and lending transaction ranged in amount from five shillings to over £2,400.0.0. The largest long-term barter debt was Pugh v. Radford with over 5,844 pounds of pork not

delivered as promised in 1736. The largest promissory note amount was £500.0.0 from Col. Thomas Pollock to Gov. David Henderson for goods, enslaved individuals, and chattels, while the largest bond agreement was from Edward Salter to Robert Campen for £800.0.0.

Of records reviewed, the top seven methods for extending credit or collecting debt are listed in Table 5, in order of credit instrument frequency. There were fifty-three plea of debt lawsuits (31%), twenty-five cases of loan, mortgage, or indentures (14.5%), fifteen estate book debt cases (8.7%), fifteen bond, note, or agreement cases (8%), fourteen naming attorney for debt collection cases (8%), nine use or transfer of bill(s) of credit cases (5%), and eight use or transfer of bill(s) of exchange cases (4.5%).

Dates from court cases reference initial creditor and debtor transactions, and they typically include dates of the Bath County Provost Marshal Summons and subsequent dates of court case hearings and judgments to collect debt. Occasionally the debtor’s written promise to repay debt and damages is also recorded as a bill of debt or a promissory note. These dates, over time, also confirm British and domestic merchants’ willingness to extend credit in Bath County despite long periods of time before final payment. Many court record dates identified in this study show debt satisfaction taking anywhere from one to ten years, if at all.

Debt records also reveal the occupations of both plaintiffs and defendants. Many debtors or creditors served as government officials with numerous past North Carolina governors, treasurers, secretaries, and customs officials having extended or received credit. Records of British merchants using the consignment system with factors or agents show credit’s significant role in the collection of shipping payments and delivering import and export cargo, as indicated in the court record samples of Micajah Perry, Frederick Jones, John Falconar, and Thomas Peterson.¹²⁵ Well-connected residents serving as consignees in colonial trade networks are also revealed as important cogs in the wheels of colonial commerce.¹²⁶ Officials possessing waterway landings in both Bath County and Albemarle County are often mentioned as well as storehouses with labor, convenient for creditors and debtors to offload, store, and reload goods. These latter examples include Quarry, Daniel, Glover, Cary, and Pollock, all with landings for customers, friends, and neighbors to deliver goods.

Bookkeeping Findings

Information in transcribed book debt records or “current accounts” can be revealing, as they

occasionally indicate the purpose of the loan and pricing. Several contra credit bookkeeping references show debts, credits, and the nature of the merchandise and valuation as seen in the following debt cases: Pennsylvania Company v. Houghton (itemized debits of £10.1.3 ½ including 34 yards of cloth, 4 pounds of powder and shot, 1,000 8 penny nails),¹²⁷ and Wilkinson v. Fewox (debits £9.1.0 for a feather bed, 22 yards of cloth, and 2 pipes against credits of £4.19.8 that include hides, 1 bear skin, 1 hog, and 18 pairs of shoes).¹²⁸ In a third example, Colonel Robert Quarry v. fur trader Richard Smith, the credit received by Nicholas Tyler was £40.7.11 and included 334 deer skins, 47 beaver, 39 fox, and cat furs, against debits of £172.5.3 that included 162 pounds of shot, 2 barrels of powder, 200 gallons of rum, 700 flints, and 11 brass kettles.¹²⁹

An example of a sea captain promising to repay with a delivery of fresh pork to a consignee's landing is shown in a handwritten bond agreement by Capt. Thomas Collins bound to "Thomas Peterson & Pensylvaney Compenney" in an original loan amount of £5.10.10. He made two delivery payments in smaller amounts of £0.13.7 1/2 and £1.5.0 leaving an unpaid balance of £3.11.4 1/2.

The largest current account reckoning used as case evidence was book debt from the case of Micajah Perry and New Pennsylvania Company v. John Falconer with itemized credits and debits both equaling £742.19.08. Falconer's account also reveals Perry assigned two additional province attorneys to collect debts (Tyler and Rolfe) as well as the use of two sloops to import or export goods from Perry's Virginia warehouse, the sloops *Roanoke* and *Tryall*.

Estate Debt Collection Findings

Fifteen or 8.7% of identified records related to estates and debt collection including Book Debt. The earliest and smallest amount identified was 24 shillings and 5 pence from Hyde County due in 1697. The largest amount of debt to be collected was a written bond of £800.0.0. A few repayments were specified in equivalents of tar and pitch, even 5,844 pounds of pork. Most unusual was an uncollected debt for "Henry" a 16-year-old American Indian enslaved person who was purchased with promises of partial payment in cocoa. What follows is a selection of estate and debt collection from the sampled material found in the North Carolina State Archives Estate Records:

Source	Debt Case Records Found
Beaufort Co. Vol. I Deed Book, 1696-1729 (Beaufort I)	53
Colonial Records NC (CRNC) Vol. IV, 1702-1708	46
Colonial Records NC (CRNC) Vol. VII, 1664-1734	10
Colonial Court Records (CCR), Estates P-Y	10
NC Higher Court (NC HC) Vol. III, 1697-1701	9
Colonial Court Records (CCR), Estates A-F	9
Beaufort County Vol. II Deed Book, 1729-1748 (Beaufort II)	9
Colonial Court Records (CCR), Estates G-O	7
NC Higher Court (NC HC) Vol. II 1670-1696	7
Carteret County Minutes, 1723-1747	6
NC Higher Court (NC HC) Vol. VI, 1724-1730	1
Colonial Records NC (CRNC) Vol. I, 1578-1695	1
Carteret County Deed Book D, 1713-1759	1
Colonial Records NC (CRNC) Vol. VII, Records of the Executive Council, 1664-1734	1

Table 4. Sources containing debt cases related to Bath County from 1695-1739 included in this study, organized by count.

Method	Number (Count #)	Percentage
By Account/Plea of Debt	53	30.8
Loan/Mortgage/Indenture	25	14.5
By Account Estate Book Debt	15	8.7
Bond or Agreement	14	8.1
Bill of Credit	9	5.2
Bill of Exchange	8	4.7
Attorney	7	4.1
Promissory Note	6	3.5
Plea of the Case	4	2.3
Future Commodities	2	1.2
By Bill	2	1.2
Writ of Obligation	2	1.2

Table 5. Methods for extending credit or collecting debt in Bath County from 1695 to 1739 by type and involving two or more cases. For all others, see appendix.

1697 – Estate of Thomas White dec'd, Nicholas Daw, £0.24.5, By account Plea of debt, by his bill.

1710 – John Porter Dec'd, Tobias Knight & wife Cath., £85.13.1/2, Estate Book Debt, for goods & Merchandise delivered to Wm. Glover dec'd.

1710 – John Porter Dec'd, Solley & Humphrey Legg, £50.8.1, Estate Book Debt, Goods.

1717 – Ann Mackey infant- Guardian, John Clark £70.0.0 sterling, Debt plea, Negro Harry.

1721 – John Fulford, planter, Peter Fomville/Capt. Wm. Stone of Core Sound, Partial payment in cocoa, “Henry” 16 yo Indian slave.

1723 – Capt. Peter Brock, Treddel Kiefe £ 20.0.0, Future Commodities, 25 barr Tar.

1728 – Estate of Wm Maule, Geo. Martin, Master sloop, £80.0.0, Agreed to del'y20 barr pitch, Master sloop “Nancy”, Patrick Maule excr made oath

before JP that he has not any returns in books or papers for bill of lading, 19a Mar 1722/23 shipped on board sloop *Nancey* 20 barr of pitch to be sold at Md.

1731 – Roger Kenyon of Bath Town, John Richards of Albemarle Co., £ 408.0., Bond loan, must pay half £204, 13 months.

1732 – Simon Jeffreys, Wm. Culender, carpenter, £50.0.0, Bond for Services, build sheds.

1733 – Crafton & Blackburn, Thomas Armstrong (VA), £640.0.0, Estate Book Debt.

1733 – John Bryan of Liverpool, John Rieusset dec'd merchant, £24.7.0 sterling, Estate Book Debt, by attorney Wm. Herritage.

1733 – Wyrriott Ormond of Bath, Collum Flynn/Flinn dec'd of Hyde Co., £47.10.9, Promissory Note, for meat, drink & lodging.

1734 – Thomas Bell dec'd, John Blunt master Tryall, £500.0.0, Estate Book

Debt, Blunt carried out Abel Barger in debt to Bell.

1734 – George Cogdell, Richard Searle dec'd, June 1734 term, £11.15.0, Estate Book Debt, by account.

1734 – Thomas Bell dec'd, James Wimble, £ 200.0.0, Estate Book Debt, Negro 16 yo slave.

1734 – Edward Salter, merchant, Robert Campen, planter of NC, £800.0.0, Bond.

1736 – Francis Pugh dec'd, vs. Robert Radford, planter, Estate Book Debt, Pugh managed a store at Wm. Killingsworth's.

1737 – Rufus Marsden, merchant, Thomas Rowan, £116.0.0, Bond loan, 6 mo. term with 10% interest.

1737 – John Rieusset dec'd merchant, Henry Everitt, ship carpenter of Beaufort Co. £87.9.6, Estate Book Debt, For goods & merchandise.

1737 – John Hide of Edenton, Roger Kenyon dec'd of Bath, £500.0.0, Loan-Plea of Trespass, Kenyon borrowed £654.4.0 to preserve cast away ship “Charming Molly & Ann” cast away at Peacock Inlett.

1738 – John Rieusset dec'd merchant, James Brickell ordinary keeper of Bath Town, £ 87.0.6, Estate Book Debt, For goods & merchandise.

Exchanging Paper, Bonds, Promissory Notes, Third Parties

In transcribed records identified over the four decades between 1695 and 1739, the wide variety and frequency of credit-related transactions may or may not be representative of credit's widespread use in the state's second oldest county. However, it does appear that credit via written instruments, like bills of exchange and promissory notes, was more often used by foreign merchants, government officials, trusted merchants, and, more generally, the wealthy. They would have had access to voyages to metropolitan ports to expand credit networks, whether through business, family, or other political connections. Credit instruments like indentures and notes appear to be used more to purchase land and town lots or Black and American Indian enslaved people. For example, one of the sampled credit transactions in 1739 notes that £1000.0.0 in public bills (bills of credit) were loaned to a bricklayer to purchase Bath town lots 55 and 56.

Case Study: Salter v Campen Plea of Debt Lawsuit 1734

In the 1730's, the General Court began to use a fill-in-the-blank typeset form, as shown below in the 1734 case of Salter v. Campen (Figure 4). This summons from Bath merchant Edward Salter requests the defendant be brought to the Edenton courthouse.¹³⁰ The lawsuit resulted in a judgement in favor of the plaintiff and an executed Bond Agreement. In other words, Campen as the borrower, agreed to repayment terms of £800.0.0 in current money if he defaulted, and to be bound legally to the plaintiff creditor, Salter. The bond was null and void if

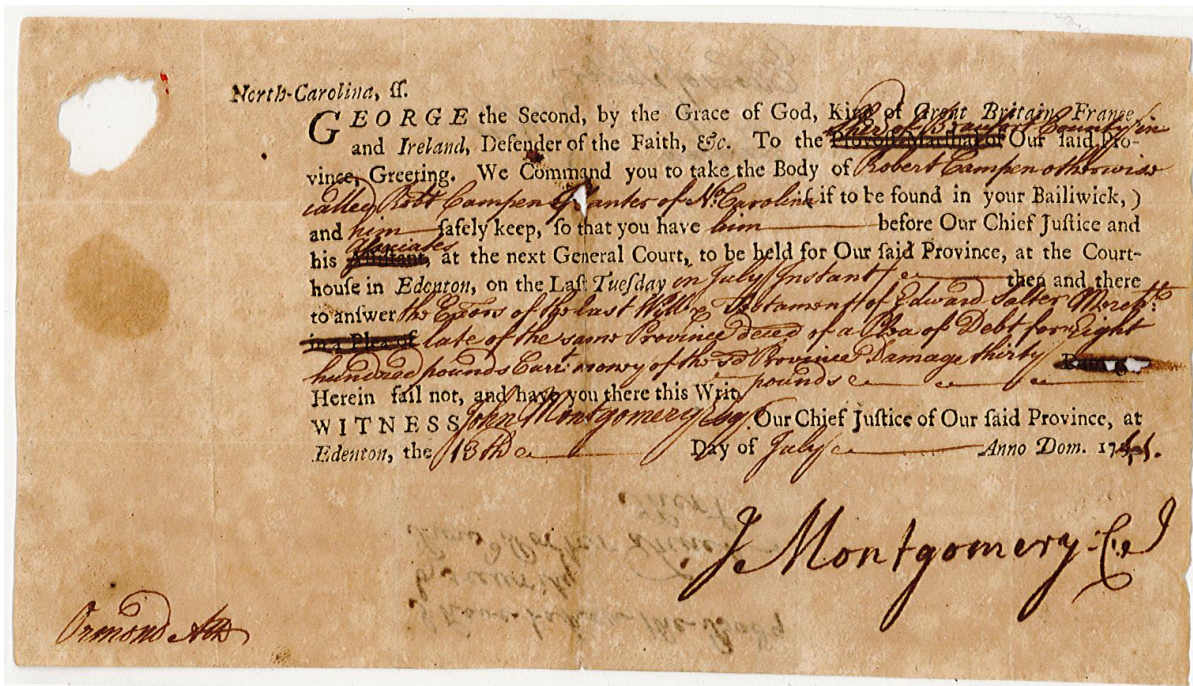


Figure 4. Court summons typeset form for the Salter v. Campen colonial court case (Image courtesy NC Digital Collection, North Carolina State Archives).

he presented fifty percent payment and paid interest (Figure 5, *recto*).

The reverse side of the form showed the creditor's bookkeeping with additional debits, and credit payments (Figure 5, *verso*). The reverse notation also indicated that Salter was acting as an early North Carolina banker. Salter issued a payment of £71.0.0 to a third party, Edward Namley, and the merchant charged £71 to the borrower Campen's book debt, which was the modern equivalent of a check. The reverse notes on Campen's bond agreement also show interest charged at a rate of six percent. As to debt duration, the outstanding amount was still pending eight years later; the estate of Edward Salter was still trying to collect in 1742.¹³¹

Other Domestic Credit Patterns

It appears from records naming third parties that credit practices of London merchants with Virginia operating bases, such as Perry & Jones, and larger Boston and Charleston merchants, relied on establishing trusted attorneys and factors, as well as a series of geographically convenient and trusted consignees who at times were willing to serve also as attorneys in lawsuits. Examples include Robert Quarry, Josiah Rolfe, Nicholas Tyler, and Daniel Glover. Purchases by fur traders and domestic local merchants using credit were often based on a future payment in commodities or a long-term barter. Fifteen "plea by debt" court cases indicated future "commodity pay" with a preference for "merchantable" or "fresh" pork to repay their creditors.

Although North Carolinians were banned from exporting tobacco, exports in pork could be traded for tobacco by British merchants. Also, fresh pork could be sold to Virginia and Maryland for consumption or sold to ships bound for England needing provisions. Less often, British merchants' debtors chose furs and skins as repayment (nine cases) or tar (three cases). Merchants occasionally also extended credit for goods and wares, or "Indian goods" (eight cases).

Planters and sea captains tended to use bills, bonds, and notes, with or without interest, as noted in vessel transactions that referenced credit. Eight vessels were identified: a Spanish prize, a privateer named *Movil Trader*, a pink named *Adventure*, and five sloops, *Seaflower*, *Nancy*, *Tryall*, *Roanoke*, and one unnamed.

Also, in two transactions, the 1718 £550 from Tobias Knight loan to Isaac Mazick, (a French Huguenot merchant of Charleston) and the 1721 £550.19.4 Worsley debt to New England merchant Oliver, the credit extended is larger

in comparison to most domestic lending. The Seth Pilkington bond in 1739 for £2400.0.0 certainly stands out, due to the payment made half in cash and half in tar. The 1703 case of Fred Jones of Virginia & London v. Thomas Dereham of Pamlico showed a debt of £1000.0.0 sterling, with £247.8.3 to be repaid in skins and furs and £210.0.6 in other commodities is also of note. Also, the 1718 Tobias Knight debt to a French Huguenot merchant Isaac Mazick of Charleston, South Carolina for over £500 and the Worsley debt to a New England merchant for over £550 with both a bond and demand note both are larger in comparison to most identified. For example, Knight's loan of £550 was the equivalent of approximately \$1.5 million in today's money, using World Economic Foundation's "Measuring Worth" website.¹³²

The Knight and Mazick case also demonstrates domestic North Carolina and South Carolina triangulation, with credit use in two different colonies with three different parties; the signature of a Merchant Porter, acting as an endorsee, can be found on the reverse. The 1726 transaction record of Hugh George Lovick, a British merchant, demonstrates a similar transatlantic triangulation. Lovick's transaction also indicates that in 1726, £240.0.0 worth of North Carolina paper money (bills of credit) were used in London, the value of which was significantly less than the British pound. The Lovick and Parris court record is also significant in its complexity since the original record references four different means of exchange: a promissory note, sets of bills of exchange, sterling money of Great Britain, and bills of credit of North Carolina.

Credit use was present in three types of Bath County court records: international merchant, domestic merchant, and consumer records. Seven types of credit and means of exchange were identified in the study, including: bills of credit, bills of exchange, promissory notes, bonds, attorney agreements to collect debt, estate debt collection, and indenture/mortgages to buy land, enslaved people, or other purposes. Other items of interest related to credit terms. Six, seven, and ten percent rates of interest were specified, while most that mention "with interest" had no specified rates. The lending duration ranged from thirty days to seven years. Mediums of exchange were varied as well, specifying payment in sterling from Great Britain, sterling from other colonies, Portuguese silver, and debts repayable in current money (cm) from other colonies or repayable in commodities, most notably pork. Many court records referred to book accounts and shop books, and one husband even recorded a public ban of his wife from credit use. Bills of credit were exchanged from North Carolina paper

Know all Men by these Presents that I Rob^t. Campen
 Planter of North Carolina are held and firmly bound unto
 J^o. Salter Merch. of y^e same Province in the sum
 of Eight Hundred Pounds Current Money of y^e Province
 to which payment Well & truly to be made I do bind my
 self my heirs Ex^{ors} Adm^{rs} & Assigns firmly by these
 Presents. Seals with my seal this 15 day June 1734

The Condition of the above Obligation is such
 that if y^e above bounden Rob^t. Campen do well & truly
 pay unto y^e above named Edw. Salter his heirs Ex^{ors} Adm^{rs}
 or Assigns the sum of Four Hundred Pounds of the like
 Money then the above Obligation to Void and of none
 Effect Otherwise to stand in full force & Virtue as Writings
 in any hand y^e Date above Mentioned

Seals & Delivered
 in presence of
 Chas. B. Seeding
 Jo: Jennings

Rob^t. Campen
 Mark

Principal money	400
Interest for 7 th mo at 6 th p ^{ct}	188
Credit on acct	167.18
Interest for 2 nd	4
	424.02

Recto

Verso

Campen	266
Loyer	195
Godfrey	050
Kathaway	050
Read & More	160
Bottone	022
Trip	010
M ^r : Porter	110
	063

801.18

007.14
 (Campen's share)

Mr. Campen's Bonds
 to Edward Salter for
 June 15 to m^o £400 pound
 Croften p order 14
 June 15 to 19 to sundry 100
 good to 2 account settled 514

to Edward Wamley for year 71
 Draft August 9. 1734 505

To 5 1/2 pounds of new Carr Iron & James - 055.02.0
 Sept. 4. 13. 1734 to bills sent 00.00.00

Sept 1st 1742 590.02.0

This Bond Proves before me in due form of Law pursuant
 to a Rule of Gen^l Court
 M^r: Montgomery C^l

Figure 5. Salter v. Campen Bond Agreement for £800/£400.0, with interest, dated June 15, 1734 (Images courtesy NC Digital Collection, North Carolina State Archives).

money emissions as well as public bills from colonies of South Carolina, Virginia, and Massachusetts.

Networks of Credit

In this overview of Bath County economic history using transcribed general and higher-court records, elements of both social and financial links in merchant capitalism repeatedly seem to collide. Names appear and reappear in court records as debtors, creditors, relatives, or witnesses from the banks of the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers. Names also repeat between London and provincial lenders active in intercolonial coastal trade. This phenomenon correlates to a prevalent economic history theory presented in 2008 by Pierre Gervais that the eighteenth-century merchant world was a networked-world, and that merchant practice was a “thick web of relationships.”¹³³

Over fifteen records show the Bath County elite were using loans or mortgages to buy land and the enslaved using political and family networking influences. In 1701, F. Jones & J. Deeds of London loaned William Duckenfield £800.0.0 to be repaid in skins and furs, with six percent interest per annum.¹³⁴ In 1705 Christopher Gale’s land transaction involved Landgrave Thomas Smith, governor of South Carolina in 1693, and his son, “for purchase of land in Cape Fear using a bond agreement for £46.0.0 in currency of South Carolina together with interest.”¹³⁵ Similarly, in 1713 the merchant and land speculator, John Porter of Beaufort precinct, invested in less populated areas and extended a £80.0.0 mortgage for 200 acres of land to Thomas Worsley, fellow Bath merchant.¹³⁶ In 1718, John Lillington gave Governor Charles Eden, his son-in-law, a mortgage on 400 acres in exchange for three enslaved persons and £100.0.0.¹³⁷

Names that reappear in the early years of credit and lending were landgraves (a term of nobility in the Lord Proprietors’ province) and former governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, and even the. Specie transactions in pieces of eight and sterling, not the focus of this study, do appear in court records, for example former governor of the Bahamas George Phenny made purchase payments for town lots in Bath with fifty pieces of eight.¹³⁸ Key British government officials, such as former South Carolina Governor Colonel Robert Quarry, were heavily involved in maritime commerce and lending (see Appendix I). In addition to frequent travel to other port cities and London in duties to the crown, Quarry ran a store and storehouse in Bath as early as 1700.¹³⁹ He purchased two lots

in Little River near the Port Roanoke customs operations in 1711, which was sold to him by former North Carolina governor, William Glover.¹⁴⁰

Glover was also heavily involved in trade, appearing as consignee in court records of Robert Quarry’s debt collection attempts. A wealthy judge and North Carolina Council President, Glover owned thousands of acres in Bath and Albemarle Counties.¹⁴¹ His widow, Catherine, married another well-connected Bath official, Tobias Knight, in 1713. Knight served as province secretary under Governor Charles Eden’s council. In 1712 Knight also became province secretary of the government of North Carolina under Governor Charles Eden, as well as the customs collector in the Currituck District.¹⁴²

Edward Moseley, whose home base was in Albemarle County, married Governor Henderson Walker’s widow, Ann, in 1705. His name appears in over fifty Beaufort I records including two 1730 triangulated bills of exchange from drawer Woodes Rogers, shortly after he was appointed royal governor of the Bahamas for a second time, 1728.¹⁴³ No doubt, with political and family connections Moseley was able to take advantage of many lapsed land patents in his twenty-year role as treasurer of the entire province from 1715 to 1735.¹⁴⁴ Moseley was treasurer for many years before moving south to the Rocky Point, Cape Fear area where he continued to accumulate land with members of the Moore family.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

This sampling of records confirms there is not a scarcity of data about North Carolina provincial credit and lending during the early 1700s. We can see that an active credit system during a time of specie shortage was clearly in use in early historic Bath County, in the years of governance under the Lords Proprietors as well as in the first decade after 1729 when the province became a royal colony.

Numerous instances of “paper” as medium of exchange such as bills of exchange, promissory notes, and public bills of credit appear in Bath County Court records, used mostly by powerful planter-merchants, sea captains, and well-connected government officials. Merchants were willing to both extend credit and use credit, even if the court system was cumbersome, taking years sometimes to collect overdue payment. In the interim, some debtors might die, and some would abscond, as in the 1734 example of Abel Barger, who departed the colony via John Blunt’s sloop *Tryall* with a debt to Thomas Bell of

Prior to the advent of roads, maritime commerce tapped into local, regional, and overseas networks of credit and paved the way for the short-lived Bath County to divide and subdivide. The legacy of early credit and lending played a role in the expansion and splintering of Bath County into many of the hundred counties the state of North Carolina enjoys today. More early economic history research in this area is clearly needed.

Mind the Gap: Need for Additional Research

Economic historians of British America like John McCusker and others have stressed the need for more study on early North Carolina credit networks and economic history as they relate to maritime commerce, port cities and economic growth. Below are recommendations from seven scholars in this field:

John McCusker and Russell Menard:

“We simply know less about the economy of the Lower South than of any other region of British America... Our knowledge is so slim that almost any issue in economic studies merits study while the data are often sufficient to make studies like these profitable. In the lower south, need and opportunity converges... The trade in deerskins...merits further investigation.”¹⁴⁷

Gary Walton and James Shepherd:

“Scholars are forced to make general statements about credit as a standard tool in transactions in port cities and rural villages without reference to specific numbers. Indeed, the entire subject of credit networks and capital markets is a major gap in our knowledge of the early American economy.”¹⁴⁸

Bradford J. Wood:

“Almost all the attention that scholars have given to colonial North Carolina has focused on the decades after 1720... Consequently, we know almost nothing about one of the largest British colonies for over half a century.”¹⁴⁹

Cory Cutsail and Farley Grub:

“North Carolina’s paper money is woefully understudied. Little is known about the magnitudes in circulation, how the various emissions of paper money performed, and what determined the value of the paper money in circulation... This has not stopped scholars from deriding colonial North Carolina’s paper money as an archetype of what was bad about colonial paper monies. Exactly why it was bad, however, is poorly articulated and not coherently explained.”¹⁵⁰

Using transcribed court records, a similar research methodology could be applied in other North Carolina coastal counties with courthouses in early British-American colonial ports such as Port Currituck, Port Roanoke, Port Beaufort, and Port Brunswick. Topics could include paper money, bills of exchange, triangulated shop debt in circulation domestically, abroad, and in the West Indies, as well as commodity pricing studies focusing on furs and skins, or lumber and shingles, or pork and beef, or turpentine, tar, and naval stores.

APPENDIX I. Primary Table of Credit and Lending Record Samples

Chronological Case/Records 1695-1739
(*n=172*) *£.s.d. unit of account.*

1695, Nathaniel Chevin, Nicholas Daw, NC HC 1670-1696, £1.4.0., By account Plea of debt

- 1695, Nathaniel Chevin, Wm. Hancock of Pamlico, NC HC 1670-1696, £ 0.30.0, By account Plea of debt
- 1695, Thomas & Diana White, Robert Moline/Melline, NC HC 1670-1696, £4.7.1, Plea of the Case
- 1695, Thomas & Diana White, Robert Moline/Melline, NC HC 1670-1696, £0.36.0, Plea of the Case
- 1695, Patrick Gormache, Richard Smith, of Pamtico, NC HC 1670-1696, £6.0.0 sterling, Bond agreement
- 1696, Col. Philip Ludwell, Richard Smith, of Pamtico, NC HC 1670-1696, 1200 pounds porke, By account Plea of debt
- 1696, Col. Thomas Pollock, Richard Smith, of Pamtico, NC HC 1670-1696, £8.6.11, Plea of the Case
- 1697, Wm. Duckenfield, Capt. Richard Smith, NC HC 1697-1701, £5.0.0, By account Plea of debt
- 1697, Estate of Thomas White dec'd, Nicholas Daw, NC HC 1697-1701, 0.24.5, By account Plea of debt
- 1697, William Stevens, John Buntin of Bath Co., NC HC 1697-1701, £3.4.11, Plea of the Case
- 1697, Col. Wm. Wilkison, Rich Smith & Wm. Hancock, NC HC 1697-1701, £12.0.0 sterling, Bond agreement
- 1698, William Rigg & heirs, John Bunten/Buntin of N.C., NC HC 1697-1701, £114.0.7 cm England, Writ of obligacion
- 1699, D. Zachary/T. Peterson Atty, John Pettiver consignee, CRNC Vol. IV, £27.12.10, By account Plea of debt
- 1700, Quarry & New Pennsylvania Co, Richard Smith, NC HC 1697-1701, £133.0.0 sterling, Promissory Note
- 1700, John Buntin, William Duckinfield, Beaufort I, 20.0.0, Credit given
- 1701, Quarry & Co., Glover consignee, Richard Smith, CRNC 1702-1708, £160.7.7 1/2, By Account
- 1701, Wm. Brice, butcher of Bath Co., Thomas Arnold, planter, Beaufort I, £7.10.10, Loan/Mortgage
- 1701, Quarry & Co., Glover consignee, Wm. Read, NC HC 1697-1701, ---, Plea of the Case
- 1701, Micajah Perry, New Pensyl. Co., Richard Smith, CRNC 1702-1708, £94.1.3, By account Plea of debt
- 1701, D. Zachary/T. Peterson Atty, Wm. Duckenfield, NC HC 1697-1701, £800.0.0, By account Plea of debt
- 1701, Quarry, Col. Robert, Jno. Jennitt, CRNC 1702-1708, 11 barills Tarr, Plea of the Case
- 1701, Quarry, Col. Robert, Thomas Evans, CRNC 1702-1708, unk, Plea of the case
- 1702, Cornelius Bennington/Lepper, James Welsh, Beaufort I, ---, Attorney
- 1702, Hannah Cockarun, James Leigh, Beaufort I, £12.0.6, Loan/Indenture
- 1702, Micajah Perry, New Pensyl. Co., Thomas Peterson N P Co., Beaufort I, NA, Factor to procure
- 1702, Fred Jones Merchant, London, Thomas Dereham, Bath Co., CRNC Vol. IV, £247.8.3, By account Plea of debt
- 1702, Crown vs. Dereham of Bath Co., Thomas Dereham, CRNC 1702-1708, ea £ 50.0.0 cm NC, Bond- 3 men post
- 1702, Commander Jer. Goodridge, Wm. Barrow, Atty, Beaufort I, ---, Attorney
- 1702, Geo. Montgomery, Eliz. Montgomery, Beaufort I, ---, Credit public ban
- 1703, Commander Jer. Goodridge, Frederick Jones, CRNC Vol. IV, £324.8.1, By Account
- 1703, Fred Jones of VA & London, Thomas Dereham of Pamlico, CRNC Vol. IV, £1000.0.0 sterling, By account Plea of debt
- 1703, Walter Cradock, Mate, Commander Jer. Goodridge, CRNC Vol. IV, £57.14.0 sterling money of England, By account Plea of debt
- 1703, Thomas Jones (VA), Wm. Barrow. Atty., Beaufort I, NA, Attorney
- 1703, Quarry & Pennsylvania Co, Christopher Butler Estate, CRNC Vol. IV, unk, By account Plea of debt
- 1703, Quarry & Pennsylvania Co, Samuel Paine, CRNC Vol. IV, £3.13.0, By account Plea of debt
- 1704, Edward Loughton of Charleston,

Emanuel Low, Beaufort I, £10.13.0, Attorney

1704, Micajah Perry, New Pensyl. Co., John Falconar, CRNC Vol. IV, £742.19.08, By account Plea of debt

1704, Joel Martin, Thomas Platt, CRNC Vol. IV, £ 4.0.0, Bill of complaint

1704, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Hannah Cockeram, CRNC Vol. IV, £26.14.2, By account Plea of debt

1704, Micajah Perry, New Pensylvania Co., John Lawson, CRNC Vol. IV, £12.9.9, By account Plea of debt

1705, Franceis Gurganus, Capt. Wm. Barrow, Beaufort I, £113.0.0, By account Plea of debt

1705, Thomas Peterson New Pensylvania Co., Geo. Birkenhead, Atty./merchant, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney

1705, Christopher Gale, John Lawson, CRNC Vol. IV, £333.8.0, By Account

1705, Hon. Thomas Smith (SC), John Clarke, Beaufort I, £46.0.0 of SC, Loan/Bond

1705, Capt. N. Jones, Capt. R. Smith, Atty., Beaufort I, NA, Attorney

1705, Micajah Perry of London, Richard Smith, CRNC 1702-1708, £94.1.3, By account Plea of debt

1705, Micajah Perry, New Pensyl. Co., Richard Smith, CRNC 1702-1708, £1.8.6, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, James Banks, CRNC 1702-1708, £1.12.6, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, John Conden, CRNC 1702-1708, £4.16.9, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Geo. Cooper, CRNC 1702-1708, £2.4.8, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, John Nash, CRNC 1702-1708, 2.8.9, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, John Neal, CRNC 1702-1708, unk, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania C, Daniel & Joan Phillips, CRNC 1702-1708, £7.8.0, By account

Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, David Pritchard, CRNC 1702-1708, £8.2.7, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Samuel Pritchard, CRNC 1702-1708, £3.9.10, By account Plea of debt

1705, Landgrave Robert Daniel, Capt. Nicholas Thomas Jones, CRNC 1702-1708, £118.18.15, Plea of the Case

1705, Thomas Peteterson, Agent, Geo. Birkenhead of Bath, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Wm. Duckenfield, CRNC 1702-1708, £61.19.3, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, James Fewox, CRNC 1702-1708, £9.9.2, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Richard French, CRNC 1702-1708, £5.13.0, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania C, Robert Hosea, CRNC 1702-1708, £2.8.5, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania C, Alexander Leflear, CRNC 1702-1708, £38.3.5, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Henry Lisle, CRNC 1702-1708, £7.13.4, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, John Luerton, CRNC 1702-1708, £ 3.13.9, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, John Sawyer, CRNC 1702-1708, £13.17.8, By account Plea of debt

1705, Quarry & Pensylvania Co, Wm. Sawyer, CRNC 1702-1708, £21.16.11, By account Plea of debt

1705, Peterson & Pensylvania Co, Symon Trumbull dec'd, CRNC 1702-1708, £41.2.8, Loan/Certain Writeing Obligatory

1706, John Lawson, Hannah Smith, both of Bath town, Beaufort I, ---, Loan/Indenture

1706, New Pensylvania Co, Nicholas Daw, Hatter, CRNC 1702-1708, £40.16.10, By account Plea of debt

- 1706, James Feillet, physician, Henry Sawyer, CRNC 1702-1708, £5.0.0, By Account
- 1706, James Feillet, physician, William Jennings, CRNC 1702-1708, £21.05.0, By Account
- 1706, John Redwood r/t Perry and Lane vs., Jno. Pettiver, CRNC 1702-1708, £8.0.0 w/ interest, Bill of Exchange (3)
- 1706, Col. Thomas Pollock, J. Blunt dec'd, CCR Estates A-F, £20.15.2, By account Plea of debt
- 1706, James Feillet, physician, Benjamin Tull, CRNC 1702-1708, £2.0.0, By Account
- 1706, Christopher Gale, John Lawson, Beaufort I, £233.8.0, Plea of the Case
- 1707, Hon. Thomas Cary, NC Gov, Maurice Luellen, chirurgion of Bath, Beaufort I, £70.0.0 cm, Mortgage Town lots & Land
- 1707, Richard Smith of Bath Co., Christopher Gale of Bath Town, Beaufort I, ---, Loan to buy "Joan" enslaved person.
- 1707, Merchant John Morgan (SC), Emanuel. Low, Beaufort I, £38.8.9, Loan with interest
- 1707, John Blount Esq., J. Wilkins Master s/v *NonSuch*, CRNC 1702-1708, £4.10.0, Plea of Trespass
- 1707, London Merchant/Giles Shute, Edward Bonwick, Beaufort I, £40.0.0. Sterling, Bill of Exchange
- 1707, New Pennsylvania Co, John Bishop, CRNC 1702-1708, £8.12.0, By account Plea of debt
- 1707, T. Dearham, Thomas Jones, Beaufort I, £161.12.0 (VA), Land sale includes debts due
- 1708, Charles Smith, Planter Matchapungo, Hon. Thomas Cary, NC Gov, Beaufort I, £19.0.0, Loan to buy "Jack" enslaved person.
- 1708, New Pennsylvania Co, Robert Keele of Pasquetank, CRNC 1702-1708, £2.14.5, By account Plea of debt
- 1708, New Pennsylvania Co, John Lawson, CRNC 1702-1708, £12.9.9, By account Plea of debt
- 1709, James Beard, mariner Bath Co, Thomas Worsley, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney
- 1709, Dep Gov Robt. Daniel, James Leigh, Atty., Beaufort I, NA, Attorney
- 1710, Wm. Wragg, C. de Graffenreid, NCCR 1664-1734, £115.0.0, £166.2.2, Promissory Notes
- 1710, John Porter Dec'd, Tobias Knight & wife Cath., CCR Estates P-Y, £85.13.1/2, Estate Book Debt
- 1710, John Porter Dec'd, Solley & Humphrey Legg, CCR Estates P-Y, £50.8.1, Estate Book Debt
- 1710, Geo. Ritter of Berne, Switz., C. de Graffenreid, CRNC Vol VII, £75.0.0, Bill of Exchange
- 1711, Farnifold Green of Bath Co., To Robert Ffendall, CRNC Vol I, £20.0.0, Letter about Bath massacre
- 1711, N. Chevin, Wm. Reed, CCR Record 194, £29.5.0, By account Plea of debt
- 1712, R. Shelton & Lords Propt'rs's, Orders to Receiver General, CRNC Vol VII, NA, Bill of Exchange
- 1713, Joshua Porter, Thomas Worsley, Beaufort I, £80.0.0, Loan/Mortgage
- 1714, Soc. Propagation of Gospel, Rev. John Urmstone, Beaufort I, £20.0.0, Bill of Credit
- 1715, Col. Thomas Cary of Bath Co., Wm. Haughton of NC, Beaufort I, £40.0.0 sterling Engl., Loan/Mortgage
- 1716, Wm. Dudley of Bath, Joseph Morgan, mariner NE, NC HC 1697-1701, £25.0.0 sterling GB, Loan/Mortgage
- 1716, Thomas Seally, Thomas Sparrow, Beaufort I, £25.0.0 cm NC, Indenture 1 year Lease
- 1716, Col. Thom. Pollock, David Henderson, Beaufort I, £500.0.0, Promissory Note
- 1716, Lydia Daw, widow, Hyde precinct, John Clarke merchant of Bath Co., Beaufort I, £0.5.0, Indenture 1 year Lease
- 1716, Lydia Daw, widow, Hyde precinct, John Clarke merchant of Bath Co., Beaufort I, £120.0.0 sterling GB, Loan, 7-year sale
- 1717, Joshua Underwood, Patrick Caven, carpenter, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney
- 1717, Ann Mackey infant- Guardian, John Clark, CCR Estates G-O, £70.0.0 sterling, Debt plea

1718, For the use of Isaack Mazick, SC merchant, received of Tobias Knight, Beaufort I, £534.13.3 cm NC

1718, John Worley Esq., Elsey & Henderson, Beaufort I, 188 acres, Loan/indenture

1718, John Porter Dec'd, Joshua Porter, Beaufort I, £15.0.0, Loan/indenture

1718, Martha Daniels widow, Tobias Knight, Beaufort I, £5.0.0 cm (SC), Marital sale -840 ac.

1718, D.Olliver/Wm.Welsteed, Boston merchants, from Jno.Porter 'Pay Wm. Meeds or his order', CRNC Vol VII, £10.0.0 cm of NE, Bill of Exchange

1718, John Lillington, Charles Eden, Beaufort I, £100.0.0 + 400 ac., Loan/indenture

1718, John Lillington, Charles Eden, Beaufort I, £200.0.0 sterling, Loan/Mortgage

1718, Richard Case, Jane Losts, Beaufort I, ---, Gift of all Debts due him

1718, Joshua Maddox NY merchant, Hon. Charles Eden & J. Stoner, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney

1718, John Jeffries, NC merchant, pay Jacob Smyth or order, CRNC Vol VII, £81.10.10, Bill of Exchange

1718, Joshua Porter, Thomas Worsley Esq., Beaufort I, £400 cm of NC, Loan

1719, SPG/Coll. Heathcoat of New Yk, Rev. J. Urmstone, Saunders Vol II 1713-28, £20.0.0, Bill of Exchange

1719, Kath. Knight, Thom. Knight, attorney, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney

1720, Thomas Leigh, Elsey & Henderson, Beaufort I, £10.0.0 sterling GB, Bond

1720, John Simson, Col. Morice More, Beaufort I, £35.0.0, Bond for 25 barr pitch

1720, SPG for Rev. Mr. Urmstone, Edward Moseley, Saunders Vol II 1713-28, £10.0.0, Bill of Exchange

1720, Capt'ns O. Davis & T. Porter, G. Basset, Charleston Merchant, Beaufort I, £16.2.8, Writ - Spanish Prize sale

1720, Mary Green (PA), Geo. Stephens, Beaufort I, 60.0.0, Bond

1720, D. Oliver merchant, New England, Thomas Worsley, Beaufort I, £550.19.4 cm NE, Bond agreement

1720, Capt. Othniel Davis, commander, Roger Kenyon quartermaster, Beaufort I, £200.0.0 sterling, Gift of all bills, bonds, debts due

1720, Th. Armstrong, Thomas Rouse/E.Carter, Beaufort I, unk, Bill of Exchange

1721, John Fulford, planter, Peter Fomville/Capt. Wm. Stone of Core Sound, CCR Estates A-F, £60 sterling GB, Partial payment in cocoa by stone

1722, Capt. James Boon of Bertie precinct, Col. Wm. Maule dec'd, CRNC Vol VII, £40.0.0 sterling, Bond

1723, Wm. Busteen of Norfolk VA, John Worsley, weaver of Bath, Beaufort I, £20.0.0, Indenture 1 yr Lease

1723, Capt. Peter Brock, Treddel Kiefe, CCR Estates A-F, £20.0.0, Future Commodities

1723, Roger Kenyon, Mary Cotton, spinster of Bath Town, NC HC 1724-30, £3.0.0 bill, Bill of Credit

1723, Josiah Rolfe, Geo. Birkenhead dec'd, CCR Estates A-F, £6.0.0., Future Commodities

1724, Caleb Metcalfe, Craven precinct, John McCormack, Bart. and Susana McGowen, Sanders 1713-1728, £0.40.0, Larceny & Petty theft

1725, Ross Bell, John Low, Carteret Co. Minutes 1723-47, £7.4.0, By account Plea of debt

1725, Capt. Enoch Ward, Edmond Ennit, Carteret Co. 1723-47, £3.2.0, By account Plea of debt

1726, Thomas Parris, Hercules Coyte or his order, CRNC Vol VII, £240.0.0 in bills, Bill of Credit

1726, Geo. Hugh Lovick of London, T. Parris, CRNC Vol VII, £60.0.0, Promissory Note

1727, Thomas Amory, Boston merch, Lawrence Sarson dec'd planter, CCR Estates P-Y, £116.0.0 of NE, Estate Book Debt

1728, Mary Thornton, G. Holland, Carteret Co. Minutes 1723-47, £50.0.0, Bastardy fine/debt

1728, Estate of Wm Maule, Geo. Martin,

Master sloop, CCR Estates G-O, £80.0.0,
Agreed to del'y 20 barr pitch

1728, John Simpson, Edward Ward, Carteret
Co. 1723-47, £6.11.0, By account Plea of debt

1729, Mary Davis alias Hickman, Charles
Burris, calker, Beaufort II, £450.0.0 cm, Bond

1729, Matthew Rowan, Edward Salter of Bath
Co, Beaufort I, NA, Attorney

1730, Christopher Gale, Matthew Ellery of
Bath, cooper, Beaufort II, £60.0.0, Bill of
Credit

1730, Woodes Rogers, drawer, Nassau, for use
of Edward Moseley, CRNC Vol VII, £10.0.0
sterling GB, Bill of Exchange

1730, Woodes Rogers, drawer, Nassau, for use
of Edward Moseley, CRNC Vol VII, £13.0.0
sterling GB, Bill of Exchange

1730, John Rickard, NE merchant, Sarah
Johnson, Carteret Co. Minutes 1723-47,
£8.19.6, By Account

1731, Roger Kenyon of Bath Town, John
Richards of Albemarle Co., CCR Estates G-O,
£408.0.0, Bond loan

1731, NY Carpenter Deen, ---, Carteret Co
Deed book D, £160.0.0, Bill of Credit

1732, John Cary London merchant, son of
Gov. Thomas Cary, John Rieusset, merchant of
Dublin, Beaufort II, £52.10.0, Indenture

1732, Simon Jeffreys, Wm. Culender,
carpenter, CCR Estates G-O, £50.0.0, Bond for
Services

1733, Crafton & Blackburn, Thomas
Armstrong (VA), CCR Estates A-F, £640.0.0,
Estate Book Debt

1733, John Bryan of Liverpool, John Rieusset
dec'd merchant, CCR Estates P-Y, £24.7.0
sterling, Estate Book Debt

1733, Wyrriott Ormond of Bath, Collum
Flynn/Flinn dec'd of Hyde Co., CCR Estates
A-F, £47.10.9, Promissory Note

1734, Thomas Bell dec'd , John Blunt master
Tryall, CCR Estates A-F, £500.0.0, Estate Book
Debt

1734, George Cogdell, Richard Searle dec'd,
Carteret Co. Minutes 1723-47, £11.15.0, Estate
Book Debt

1734, Mary Aldershair, spinster Bath Town,
Thomas Lake, carpenter, Beaufort II, £5.0.0
current bills, Bill of Credit

1734, Thomas Bell dec'd , James Wimble, CCR
Estates A-F, £200.0.0, Estate Book Debt

1734, Edward Salter, merchant, Robert
Campen, planter of NC, CCR Estates P-Y,
£800.0.0, Bond

1736, Francis Pugh dec'd, vs. Robert Radford,
planter, CCR Estates P-Y, 5844 lbs. pork, Estate
Book Debt

1737, Simon Alderson, Philip Williams,
carpenter, Beaufort II, £40.0.0 public bills, Bill
of Credit

1737, Rufus Marsden, merchant, Thomas
Rowan, CCR Estates P-Y, £116.0.0 with
interest, Bond loan

1737, John Rieusset dec'd merchant, Henry
Everitt, ship carpenter of Beaufort Co., CCR
Estates P-Y, £87.9.6, Estate Book Debt

1737, John Hide of Edenton, Roger Kenyon
dec'd of Bath, CCR Estates G-O, £500.0.0,
Loan-Plea of Trespass

1738, John Rieusset dec'd merchant, James
Brickell ordinary keeper of Bath Town, CCR
Estates P-Y, £87.0.6, Estate Book Debt

1739, John Chilley and wife Isabella, Andrew
Conner, bricklayer of Bath, Beaufort II,
£1000.0.0., Bill of Credit

1739, Robert Campen or his order, Robert
Peyton, Beaufort II, £133.0.0 Boston money,
Promissory Note

1739, Josiah Jones, Seth Pilkington, Beaufort
II, £2400.0.0, Bond - payable £600.0.0
cash/£600.0.0 in Tar

Date unk, Thomas Evans, Widdow Lary, CCR
Estates G-O, - Estate Book Debt

Endnotes

1. William S. Powell, and Michael Hill, eds., *North Carolina Gazetteer* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). <https://ncpedia.org/gazetteer/search/Bath>; Bath County was named in honor of John Granville, Earl of Bath, one of the Lords Proprietors. On December 3, 1705, the territory was divided into Archdale, Pamptecough, and Wickham precincts. Bath County was not abolished with the creation of the three precincts but continued to be referred to in records as late as 1724. As the precincts increased in importance, eventually becoming counties themselves, the parent county lost its identity.
2. David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh, N.C.: Office of Archives

and History, 2000), 18; Pamlico, Pamplico, Pamtico, and Bath were place names used interchangeably. A 1703 case between Thomas Patt of Virginia and Joel Martin stated, "...immediately after his arrival in ye county of Bath (Alias Pamlico) — aforesaid"; William Gordon, writing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, May 13, 1709, said, "Bath County contains most of that land which lies to the southward of Albemarle Sound to the Pamlico River." Rev. Urmstone, missionary wrote on October 18, 1718, "the Library at Pamptichoe, sent in for the use of the Clergymen by Dr. Bray, in all appearance will be to all destroyed," in Colonial Court Records (CCR), Colonial Court: Court of Chancery, 1689-1775, CCR 193, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C.

3. Allen Hart Norris, and John Oden III, eds., *Beaufort County Deed Book, 1696-1729*, vol. 1 (Washington, N.C.: The Beaufort County Genealogical Society, 2003), preface.

4. "Almost the entirety of colonial life was linked to colonial trade... The self-sufficient yeoman farmer of colonial American is mythical: almost all colonists were tied to overseas trade," in John J. McCusker, and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 10.

5. Romney Sedgwick, *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1715-1754* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press and History Parliament Trust, 1970), 666; Micajah Perry, III (d.1753), "Of St. Mary Axe, London and Epsom, Surrey. Son of Richard Perry, merchant, of Leadenhall St., London, Director of Bank of England 1699-1701. Perry's grandfather was the greatest tobacco merchant in England and agent for Virginia. Inheriting the family business in 1721, Perry III handled the affairs of the Virginia planters in London, frequently consulted by the Board of Trade. Offices Held: ... Alderman of London 1728, Sheriff 1734-5, Lord Mayor 1738-9;" Jacob M. Price, *Perry of London: A Family on the Seaborne Frontier, 1615-1753* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 23-26; Perry and Lane owned two out of twenty-one London quays. Chester's and Brewer's, located on the north shore of the Thames River between the London Customs House and Tower of London, prime locations convenient to the Customs House quay.

6. Wilson Angley, "Port Bath, North Carolina in the 18th Century" (report, Research Branch, N.C. Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, 1981), 3; "The regrettable loss of records makes it impossible to determine the extent of trade... but it must have been in the early years that Bath reached its heights as a commercial center;" 1738 and 1739 Port Bath records can be found in London: British Records PRO ADM 68/197 give the following customs clearances: Port Bath 24 and 28 vessels, years 1738 and 1739 respectively paying sixpences for Greenwich Hospital for Seaman (mandatory donations), also Port Beaufort 30 and 40 vessels, Port Roanoke 41 and 36, Port Brunswick 28 and 46, Port Currituck 0 and 3, respectively; See Table 3: eight Vessels that cleared Port Bath 1726 to 1740.

7. William S. Price Jr., ed., *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1702-1708*, vol. 4 of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, [Second Series], 11 vols., ed. Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, William S Price Jr., and Robert J. Cain (Raleigh, N.C.: Office of Archives and History, 1971), xiii.

8. William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 2: 629; Powell and Hill, *North Carolina Gazetteer*.

9. John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, U.K., 1709), 80; "The European and... also the Indian-Trade, might be carried on to a great Profit... And for the small

Trade that has been carried on in that Way, the Dealers therein have throve as fast as any Men, and the soonest rais'd themselves of any People I have known in Carolina... The Fame of this new-discovered summer country spread thro' the neighboring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable number of Families thereto." <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/lawson/menu.html>

10. Powell and Hill, *North Carolina Gazetteer*; Saunders, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 629.

11. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 11

12. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

13. Jacquelyn H. Wolf, "Patents and Tithables in Proprietary North Carolina, 1663-1729." *The North Carolina Historical Review* 56, no. 3 (1979): 263-277.

14. Wolf, "Patents and Tithables in Proprietary North Carolina," 270.

15. "Edward Moseley," William S. Price, Jr., 1991, revised by Jared Dease, N.C. Government and Heritage Library, December 2022, in William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 6 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996). <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/moseley-edward>.

16. Richard Palmer, *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection* (London, U.K.: Scala Publishers. 2010), 136. <https://archive.org/details/lambeth-palacelib0000lamb/page/138/mode/2up>.

17. Wolf, "Patents and Tithables in Proprietary North Carolina," 263-265.

18. Palmer, *Lambeth Palace Library*, 138; Baylus C. Brooks, "Edward Moseley: Impressions of the Albemarle," www.bcbrooks.blogspot.com, February 18, 2013.

19. "Corn Lists, 1715-1716," CCR, Taxes & Accounts, 1679-1754, Box 190, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C. https://www.ncgenweb.us/beaufort/census_tax/bo1715.htm

20. Report by the Board of Trade of Great Britain concerning general conditions in North Carolina [Extract] September 08, 1721, in Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2: 418-425.

21. Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties*, 74; Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2: xiii; When Burrington was Governor Albemarle County and Bath County together held 13 precincts, where each precinct collected a poll tax of 5 shillings per tithable adult from each household.

22. Harry Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 53; The population of North Carolina began increasing at a dramatic rate during the middle of the eighteenth century. Early 18th century population grows... as "in fits and starts;" Lawson mentions of "the yearly abundance of strangers;" in Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 81.

23. Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 3: 210.

24. Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 1: xiii.

25. Powell and Hill, *North Carolina Gazetteer*.

26. "Ledgers contained practically nothing save accounts for persons...Accounts for persons were very important because to a large extent the early colonial economy was based upon a barter and credit system...and many required long-term barter agreements," in William T. Baxter, "Observations on Money, Barter, and Bookkeeping," *The Accounting Historians Journal* 31, no. 1 (2004): 278.

27. Charles W. Wooten and Mary Virginia Moore, "The legal status of account books in colonial America," *Account-*

- ing History 5, no. 1 (2000): 42-44.
28. Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Higher-Court Records 1670-1696*, vol. 2 of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [Second Series], 11 vols., ed., Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, William S Price Jr., and Robert J. Cain (Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Cultural Resources, 1968), 313; Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 325, 332-333; £18.12.0 debt, Peterson Attorney for Perry & Co. v. Collins/Collings, Thomas; CCR, Civil Action Papers, 1755-1759, CCR 188, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C.
29. Wooton and Moore, "The legal status of account books in colonial America," 42-44.
30. Mark Koyama, "Evading the 'Taint of Usury' The Usury Prohibition as a Barrier to Entry," *Explorations in Economic History* (2010): 420-442.
31. Wooton and Moore, "The legal status of account books in colonial America," 47-48.
32. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 419-420.
33. Debt plea £160.7.7 1/2, in CCR, Jan 3, 1701, *Civil Action Papers, 1755-1759*, CCR 190, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C.
34. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 168-169.
35. Norris, and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 16, 224; In 1700, John Buntin transfers land to William Duckinfield at Quarry's store. A loan/credit is referenced in amount of £20.0.0.
36. David A. Norris, "Bath," in *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, ed. William S. Powell, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), <https://www.ncpedia.org/bath>.
37. Ibid.
38. Alan D. Watson, *Money and Monetary Problems in Early North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C.: Office of Archives and History, 1980), 50-53.
39. Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2: 985-986.
40. Watson, *Money and Monetary Problems in Early North Carolina*, 50-53.
41. Charles L. Paul, "Colonial Beaufort," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 42, no. 2 (1965): 141-146.
42. Paul, "Colonial Beaufort," 148.
43. William N. Still, Jr. and Richard A. Stephenson, *Shipbuilding in North Carolina, 1688-1918*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Office of Archives and History, 2021), 372-373.
44. Still and Stephenson, *Shipbuilding in North Carolina*, appendix.
45. Salter's remains were discovered in 1985 buried in a crypt on creek frontage he once owned. His remains were eventually identified and buried in Bath at St. Thomas Episcopal Church, where he was once a church warden, in "Old Bones, perhaps a pirate's, find eternal rest in coastal NC," *Charlotte Observer*, October 27, 2023. <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/living/travel/article9085103.html>
46. Bryan Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* (Raleigh, N.C.: Trustees of the Public Libraries, 1912), 256; North Carolina Secretary of State, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories Book*, vol. 3, SS.XIX.43, Mars ID 12.95, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C.
47. Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 114.
48. Robert Earle Moody, "Massachusetts Trade with Carolina 1686-1709," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 20, no. 1 (1943): 31.
49. Moody, "Massachusetts Trade with Carolina," 45.
50. Frances Latham Harris, ed., *Lawson's History of North Carolina*, (Richmond, V.A.: Garret & Massie, 1937), 81.
51. "They could not understand one Word of what each other spoke, yet the Female Indian, being no Novice at her Game... sensible of what she wanted; which was to pay the Hire, before he rode the Hackney. He shew'd her all the Treasure... Beads, Red Cadis, &c. which she lik'd very well," in Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 41;
52. James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*, vol. 50, no. 7 (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1928); The Pamlico tribe together with "Bear River" Indians, was estimated as 1,000 in 1600, decimated by smallpox late 1690's. Lawson reported in 1708 fifteen Tuscarora towns and one Pamlico village of 75 people. In 1723 a reservation of 53,000 acres was created for Chowanocs to live with the Tuscarora. The Neusioks... were dwindling in towns Chattooka, now New Bern, and Rouconk. The Machapunga were reduced to a single Bath County village by 1701... they settled on Mattamuskeet Lake with the Coree tribe.
53. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 76.
54. "August 5, 1703, Letter written to his father in England," in William L. Saunders, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, 12 vols. (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 22: 732-735;
55. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 76
56. Ibid., 76
57. Angley, "Port Bath, North Carolina in the 18th Century," 10. See Table 3 of known North Carolina port customs clearances.
58. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 54; "Abigail Cutler, widow and administratrix of David Cutler, marriner of Boston, appoints her friend John Ryall of Boston to recover debts owed, particularly in Bath Town, Port Pamtico;" Ryall was also of Boston, Master of sloop *Speedwell*, recorded January 9, 1710.
59. Robert Quarry, *Reports to William Blathwayt, 1702-1703*, Accession no. 9511, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, V.A.; Quarry (1644-1712) was a staunch Anglican, a loyal officer of the crown, briefly a South Carolina Governor, and an early advocate to London Board of Trade for returning North Carolina to governance by the Lords Proprietors as a royal crown colony.
60. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 16, 22-23, 175; Leigh bought a 640-acre plantation on the south shore of the Pamlico River, indenture for £12.0.0 recorded January 11, 1702. A year later his commission arrived from London. Leigh's land would have been across the river from Quarry's store landing and adjacent to river ferry from Bath town to south shore.; See Figure 3.
61. North Carolina customs declaration document, CCR, *Maritime Ships, 1677-1762*, CCR 194, Box 1, Folder 1, SR.401.6, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C. Image with seal North Carolina deputy collector. <https://archives.ncdcr.gov/documents/transcription-customs-declaration-1697>
62. North Carolina Underwater Archeology Branch, *1700-1800 NC Port Records*, Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C. <https://archaeology.ncdcr.gov/tables/portrecordscsv/>
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.; Goodridge had links to Bath, owned property, and appears in court records variously as attorney to customs official Wm Barrow, a plaintiff in Goodridge v. Frederick Jones (£324.8.1), and a defendant. in Cradock v. Goodridge over £57.14.0 unpaid wages due one of his crew from the pink *Adventure*; See Appendix.
65. Bradford J. Wood, "Struggling to Find Proprietary North Carolina," *Reviews in American History* 38, no. 4 (2010): 601-6.
66. J. Russell Snapp, "Graffenried, Christoph, Baron von (1661-1743)," in *American National Biography* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000). <https://doi>.

67. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 437; £115.0.0, £166.2.2, 1710, Wm. Wragg, C. de Graffenreid, Promissory Note with repayment in current money pitch and tar; Robert J. Cain, ed., *Records of the Executive Council, 1664-1734*, vol. 7 of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [Second Series], 11 vols., ed., Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, William S Price Jr., and Robert J. Cain (Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), 12, 437; £75.0.0 Bill of Exchange, 1710. Geo. Ritter of Berne, Switz., C. de Graffenreid, unpaid in 1711 with interest due £25.0.0.

68. Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly, (Nov 17, 1715 - Jan 19, 1716), in Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (11–26) (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1895–1906), 23: 2.

69. Thomas L. Purvis and Richard Balkin, *Colonial America to 1763* (New York, N.Y.: Facts on File, 1999), 132, 148-160.

70. Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, 23-28

71. Gillian Hookway-Jones, and Baylus C. Brooks, "Port of Bath," North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources, 2015. www.NCpedia.org/port-bath

72. Angley "Port Bath, North Carolina in the 18th Century," 9-10.

73. *Thomas Hancock papers series I, 1664-1795*, Miscellaneous letters, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School, Harvard University, Cambridge, M.A.

74. Sir Richard Everard's 1728 letter to Lords of Trade and Plantations, Edenton, May 3, 1728, in Parker, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 2: 761.

75. *American Banner*, Edenton, N.C, May 8, 1856; Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, 335; His 1751 will states, Pilkington's 1751 will states "all bonds, bills, and book debts to be collected and debts punctually paid and surplus to be equally divided between my son in law, Michael Cautanche and my daughter Winifred."

76. 1960 field work revealed a ballast-stone lined merchant cellar on the grounds of the 1751 home built by Cotanche (the Palmer-Marsh house). 2022 ECU field work explored another Bath merchant cellar, town lots 5/6, believed built 1730. See, Chloe Scattergood, "An Eighteenth-Century Archaeology of Socioeconomic at Historic Bath" (master's thesis, East Carolina University, 2023).

77. Angley, "Port Bath, North Carolina in the 18th Century," 10.

78. Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2: 418-425.

79. John Brickel, *The Natural History of North Carolina. With an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants* (Dublin: James Carson, 1737).

80. Brickel, *The Natural History of North Carolina*, 408.

81. *Ibid.*, 408.

82. Price, *Perry of London*, 107; The Perry firm owned a brick building/store in Jamestown Virginia between 1696 and 1721. The Virginia state house was next door to it before Virginia's state capital moved to Williamsburg.

83. *Ibid.*, 408; Appendix B in this book itemizes Perry and Lane cargo in the late 1690's, from coaches and silks to grindstones.

84. *Ibid.*, 58; Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 1: 986, 990.

85. Price, *Perry of London*, 42. Perry and Lane also shipped cargo and carried passengers on *Perry and Lane*, 300 tons, *London Merchant* 400 tons, *Culpepper*, 460 tons, 26 guns, the *Anne and Mary* 200 tons, 16 guns.

86. Warren C. Reiss and Sheli O. Smith, *The Ship That Held Up Wall Street* (College Station, T.X.: Texas A&M

University Press, 2014), 21, 30, 50; Hull remains and artifacts from *Carolina Princess* were recovered in 1982, and are now housed at Newport News Mariners' Museum.

87. Lewis Hampton Jones, *Captain Roger Jones, of London and Virginia: Some of His Antecedents and Descendants* (Albany N.Y.: J. Munsell's Sons, 1891), 34; Letter April 7, 1720, from Frederick Jones to his brother Thomas in James City County, Virginia.

88. Jones, *Captain Roger Jones*, 4, 234; Jones conducted business in both Albemarle and Bath County, plus owned land in Beaufort, Hyde, and Craven precincts.

89. Parker, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 2: 444.

90. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 16; £20.0.0 in credit given, sale Buntin's plantation to Capt. Nicholas Thomas Jones.

91. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 25, 29, 58; Peterson, Perry's factor, listed in court records variably as Albemarle merchant, is also linked to Bath town and county by property. Peterson left his sole heir daughter Anna his half acre Bath town lot 14 (corner of Main and Craven Street, which he purchased for 20 shillings in 1706. In 1716 Anna sold lot for £10.0.0 cm; daughter was also heir to his Bath plantation, location unknown.

92. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 72-75.

93. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 18.

94. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 53; Merchant Frederick Jones, of James City County, V.A. or Merchant of London.

95. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 33.

96. Cain, *Records of the Executive Council, 1664-1734*, 7: 614.

97. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 169.

98. *Ibid.*, 71.

99. John A. Brayton, ed., *Abstracts of Beaufort County, North Carolina, Deed Book 2, 1729-1748* (Baltimore, M.D.: Otter Bay Books, 2011), 2: 308, 378.

100. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 293, 325-326.

101. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 260-261.

102. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 245.

103. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 393.

104. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 16.

105. *Ibid.*, 61.

106. *Ibid.*, 96.

107. *Ibid.*, 11.

108. Brayton, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 2: 412-413.

109. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 92.

110. *Ibid.*, 25.

111. *Ibid.*, 84.

112. *Ibid.*, 75.

113. *Ibid.*, 37.

114. Stephen Bradley, ed., *Early Records of North Carolina: Colonial Court Records - Estate Papers 1685-1775 A to Gibson* (Lewes, D.E.: Colonial Roots, 2000), 9: 57.

115. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 14.

116. *Ibid.*, 83.

117. *Ibid.*, 95-96.

118. *Ibid.*, 16.

119. *Ibid.*, 35.

120. *Ibid.*, 95.

121. *Ibid.*, 34.

122. *Ibid.*, 21.

123. *Ibid.*, 96.

124. John Anderson Brayton, ed., *Abstracts of Carteret*

- County, North Carolina, *Deeds 1713-1759* (Baltimore, M.D.: Clearfield Company, 2010), 80.
125. "We know they (Perry and New Pennsylvania Company) used the factor system there (North Carolina) and on at least one occasion had to sue a factor to get him to settle his accounts," in Price, *Perry of London*, 48.
126. "Judicious local representatives were needed since it could be advisable to accept a partial payment rather than litigate for the full claim. For consignment merchants [in the Chesapeake, Maryland and Virginia] there was... the ever-threatening quicksand of planter debt. Merchants often owned more than planters did, but planters were much less dependable and much slower in paying," in Price, *Perry of London*, 89-90.
127. Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 4: 169, January 1702 Bond agreement £10.1.3; Parker, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 2: 537, also lists goods.
128. Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 1: 190, 540; Aug 5, 1701, William Glover transported Fewox into the province 10 Feb 1696 and counted him and two family members as headrights for land patents; Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 11.
129. Jan 3, 1701, CCR, Civil Action Papers, 1755-1759, Box 190, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C.
130. "Salter v Campen," CCR, Estate Papers, 1665-1767, CCR 196, Mars ID SR.401.3.2, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C.; £800 + £30 Damages, June 15, 1734.
131. "Salter, Edward," CCR, Criminal Action Papers, 1720-1754, CCR 186 Mars ID SR.401.3.2, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C.
132. "Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present," 2023. <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>
133. Pierre Gervais, "Neither imperial, nor Atlantic: A merchant perspective on international trade in the eighteenth century," *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 4 (2008): 465, 472.
134. Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1697-1701*, vol. 3 of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [Second Series], 11 vols., ed., Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, William S Price Jr., and Robert J. Cain (Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Cultural Resources, 1971), 443-444.
135. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 75; £46.0.0 of SC, Loan/Mortgage/Indenture, Dry goods sent for land purchase, with interest.
136. *Ibid.*, 89; "£80.0.0 Joshua Porter to Thomas Worsley 1713 Loan/Mortgage to be repaid in marketable Pitch of said province, indenture for 200 acres on Upper side of Herring Run Creek, on S side of Pamlico River."
137. *Ibid.*, 555.
138. Brayton, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 2: 133; Governor Charles Eden's stepdaughter's third husband was Hon. Geo. Phinney, former Governor of the Bahama Islands.
139. Norris and Oden III, *Beaufort County Deed Book*, 1: 16, 175; In 1700, John Buntin plantation was transferred to Capt. Nicholas Jones by William Duckinfield at Quarry's store, a prior owner-finance mortgage had been given by Buntin. credit amount of £20.0.0.
140. *Ibid.*, 175; Price, *North Carolina Higher-Court Records*, 5: 6.
141. "William Glover," William S. Powell, 1986, in William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 6 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996). <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/glover-william>
142. "Tobias Knight," James D. Gillepsie, 1998, revised by Jared Dease, N.C. Government and Heritage Library, December 2022, in William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 6 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996). <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/knight-tobias>
143. Cain, *Records of the Executive Council, 1664-1734*, 7: 614; Woodes Rogers, drawer, Nassau, for use of Edward Moseley, £10.0.0 and £13.0.0 sterling GB, Bill of Exchange, Col. Ramonds Leadenhall St., London, pay to Capt. Joseph Bloodworth or order; Whitehall, October 22," *The London Gazette*, 19 October 1728, 3; "His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Woodes Rogers, Esq; to be Governour of the Bahama Islands in America... in the Room of George Phenney, Esq."
144. William S. Price, "'Men of Good Estates': Wealth Among North Carolina's Royal Councillors." *The North Carolina Historical Review* 49, no. 1 (1972): 72-82; During Moseley's active service as an official he accumulated 90 slaves and 31,900 acres.
145. Price, "Men of Good Estates," 79.
146. Bradley, *Early Records of North Carolina*, 37
147. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 173.
148. Gary M. Walton, and James F. Shepherd, "Trade, Distribution, and Economic Growth in Colonial America," *The Journal of Economic History* 32, no. 1 (1972): 128-45.
149. Wood, Bradford J. "Struggling to Find Proprietary North Carolina," *Reviews in American History* 38, no. 4 (2010): 601-6.
150. Cory Cutsail and Farley Grubb, "Colonial North Carolina's paper money regime, 1712-1774," *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 44, no.3 (2021): 463-91.



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Tributaries is North Carolina's only peer-reviewed journal fully dedicated to maritime historical and archaeological topics. The journal seeks to support continuing historical, archaeological, and cultural research by publishing articles directly related to the maritime history and culture of North Carolina. Articles addressing North Carolina's historical relationship with other states and placement within the Atlantic World are also encouraged. *Tributaries* accepts a range of articles in the field of maritime studies, and interdisciplinary historical research is encouraged. All members of the maritime history community, including students and independent researchers, are invited to submit articles for consideration. Contributors need not be members of the NCMHC or live in the state of North Carolina. Manuscripts submitted must be based on original research and analysis, and all manuscripts are subject to an editorial and peer review process.

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Style Appendix: Resources for Bias-Free Writing

Please note that the conversations we are having now about bias-free writing will continue to change and develop over time. Our standards and best practices must continue to change and develop as well to ensure our language does not cause harm to others. Please refer back to these sources regularly to incorporate any new changes, and continue to develop sources of your own to inform your writing.

General

- National Park Service, Interpretive Development Program, Identifying and Removing Bias, <https://www.nps.gov/idp/interp/201/identbias.htm>

Ethnicity, Race, and Nationality

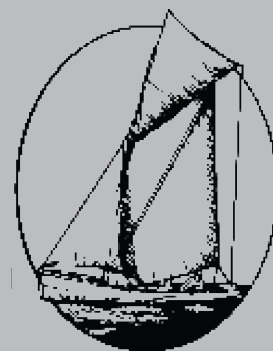
- Asian American Journalists Association, Guide to Covering Asian America, <https://www.aaja.org/aajahandbook>
- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Guidelines for Ethical Publishing, <https://aiatsis.gov.au/aboriginal-studies-press/getting-published/ethical-publishing-guidelines>
- P. Gabrielle Foreman, et al, “Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help,” community-sourced document, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1A4TEdDgYsIX-hlKezLodMIM71My3KTN0zxRv0IQTOQs/edit>
- National Association of Black Journalists, Style Guide, <https://www.nabj.org/page/styleguide>
- Native American Journalists Association, Guide on Terminology, https://najanewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/NAJA_Reporting_and_Indigenous_Terminology_Guide.pdf

Gender, Sex, and Sexuality

- American Philosophical Association, Guidelines for Non-Sexist Use of Language, <https://www.apaonline.org/page/nonsexist>
- NLGJA: The Association of LGBTQ Journalists, Stylebook Supplement on LGBTQ Terminology, <https://www.nlgja.org/stylebook/terminology/>
- Trans Journalists Association, Style Guide, <https://transjournalists.org/style-guide/>

More resources and discussion articles on Ability and Disability, Age, Religion, and more, may be found at the Conscious Style Guide: <https://consciousstyleguide.com>.

If there are resources you'd like to see included in this list, please contact the *Tributaries* editor, Jeremy Borrelli, at borrellij16@ecu.edu.



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Student Paper Prize

Student participation in the advancement of North Carolina maritime history is strongly encouraged by the North Carolina Maritime History Council. The Annual North Carolina Maritime History Council Conference regularly features students presenting papers related to undergraduate and graduate research on maritime historical and archaeological topics. To recognize this engagement, the Council awards a Student Paper Prize for the student who gives an insightful, well-researched, and well-presented paper at the Annual Conference. Awardees are given a one-year membership to the NCMHC, preference for publication in *Tributaries*, and receive free registration for the following year's conference.

In 2022, the Student Paper Prize was awarded to John Detlie, from the Program in Maritime Studies, East Carolina University who presented a paper titled: "*Black Gold in the Deep Blue Sea: Searching for a Lost WWII Oil Tanker.*"

Abstract:

Between 1941 and 1945, 87 ships were lost in North Carolina waters; two-thirds of these were sunk by U-boats. This record of destruction earned the area the nickname, "Torpedo Junction." Many of these wrecks have been found, and their resting places marked for posterity. Some, however, remain lost. This presentation will examine one of these missing wrecks, the oil tanker, William Rockefeller. When it was sunk on 28 June 1942, Rockefeller was one of the largest tankers in the world, and earned the unfortunate distinction of being the largest ship lost off the North Carolina coast. It is also one of the last WWII-era wrecks in North Carolina waters whose location is unknown. The presentation will outline the possibility of finding Rockefeller through historical research, probability mapping, and computer modeling. If successful, this methodology may be of use in the creation of search models for other lost shipwrecks.

Congratulations to John on a job well done!